

Volume 25, Number 1
January 1998

CONTRIBUTIONS TO NEPALESE STUDIES



Journal of
Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies
Tribhuvan University
Kirtipur, Nepal

CNAS

Contributions to Nepalese Studies

ISSN: 0376-7574

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Subscription Rates

	Nepal	India	Other countries
Single copy	NRs. 200/-	IRs. 200/-	—
One year	NRs. 375/-	IRs. 375/-	US\$ 50.00
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This Volume 25, Number 1 (January 1998) is a year behind the schedule in terms of the regular volumes. Meanwhile two special issues that appeared in 1998 as Volume 25, Special Issue (July 1998), *Fertility Transition in Nepal* and Volume 25, Silver Jubilee, Special Issue, *Contributions to Nepalese Studies in Twenty-Five Years: 1973-1997* disrupted the normal schedule.

Volume 25, Special Issue (July 1998) is devoted to the papers presented at an international conference on "Fertility Transition in Nepal: Changing Context and Dynamics" organised by CNAS and Family Health International on November 25 and 26, 1997 in Kathmandu. Entirely edited by Shyam Thapa, Shara G. Neidell and Dilli Ram Dahal, this volume is more like the conference proceedings than Special issue.

Compiled by Purna P. Amatya, Volume 25, Silver Jubilee, Special Issue is the Cumulative Index to the articles, review articles and book reviews published in *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1-Vol. 24, No. 2: 1973-1997. This issue is very useful in facilitating the users of the CNAS Journal to access the articles of their interest and need by subject or author.

These two special issues of Volume 25 are neither in conformity with the standard format of the CNAS Journal and nor printed at Tribhuvan University Press. Therefore, the present Editorial Board decides to continue this issue as Volume 25, Number 1 to maintain the quality and format of the CNAS Journal.

The Editorial Board
1999

CASTE/ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF POPULATION OF NEPAL

Badri P. Niroula

1. Introduction

Nepal has since long been known as the multi-lingual and multi-ethnic country. However, the size of various caste/ethnic groups in the total population was hardly known. Foundation of statistical work started when population counting in Nepal began in 1911 AD, but it was only a head counting process. The scientific data collection on population began only in the 1952/54 census. The census collected a number of socio-economic attributes such as the mother-tongue of people. The process since then has continued in every ten years. Until 1981, there was not a single item in the census schedule enquiring about the caste and/or ethnicity of people of the country. The census of 1991 made an attempt to assess the size 60 caste/ethnic groups, recorded caste/ethnicity of 18.5 million people of Nepal. Taking into account of the complex composition of population in terms of caste/ethnicity and construction of such a comprehensive list, possibility of marginal error in recording and grouping them in the census, however, cannot be ruled out.

It would be interesting to analyze spacial distribution and characteristics of the caste/ethnic groups of Nepal not only for the demographic and social perspective but also for the purpose of strategic planning and policy formulation for socio-economic development. This paper attempts to bring out some facts about the caste/ethnic composition of people of Nepal, their origin and destination by geographic regions, dispersion of major groups by administrative districts. It seeks to investigate principal characteristics of the groups reported in the census.

The data used to analyze the caste/ethnic composition and their attributes are obtained from the publication of the 1991 population census. A simple question - "What is the caste/ethnicity of the person?" was administered in the census to record the response on caste/ethnicity of each person. Thus, all facts pertaining to these groups presented in this paper refer to the 1991 census.

2. Population Composition

The census of 1991 recorded 18.5 million people usually residing in the Mountain, Hill and Tarai regions of Nepal. The population is assorted in sixty different caste/ethnic groups supplemented with "Others" and "Not stated" residual groups work for a share of 0.05 per cent in the total population. All caste/ethnic groups in the list are again classified in three major groupings with respect to their place of origin, namely the Mountain, the Hill and the Tarai. As the census indicated and if the origin classification of the groups is closer to the reality, the Hill caste/ethnic groups occupied major share of more than two thirds (68.4 %) in the population of Nepal followed by the Tarai groups (30.9 %). The share of those whose origin is in the Mountain region was less than one per cent (0.7%). As the share of physical area of the regions, the larger chunk of population of Nepal is thus made up of groups originated from the Hill region (Annex 10).

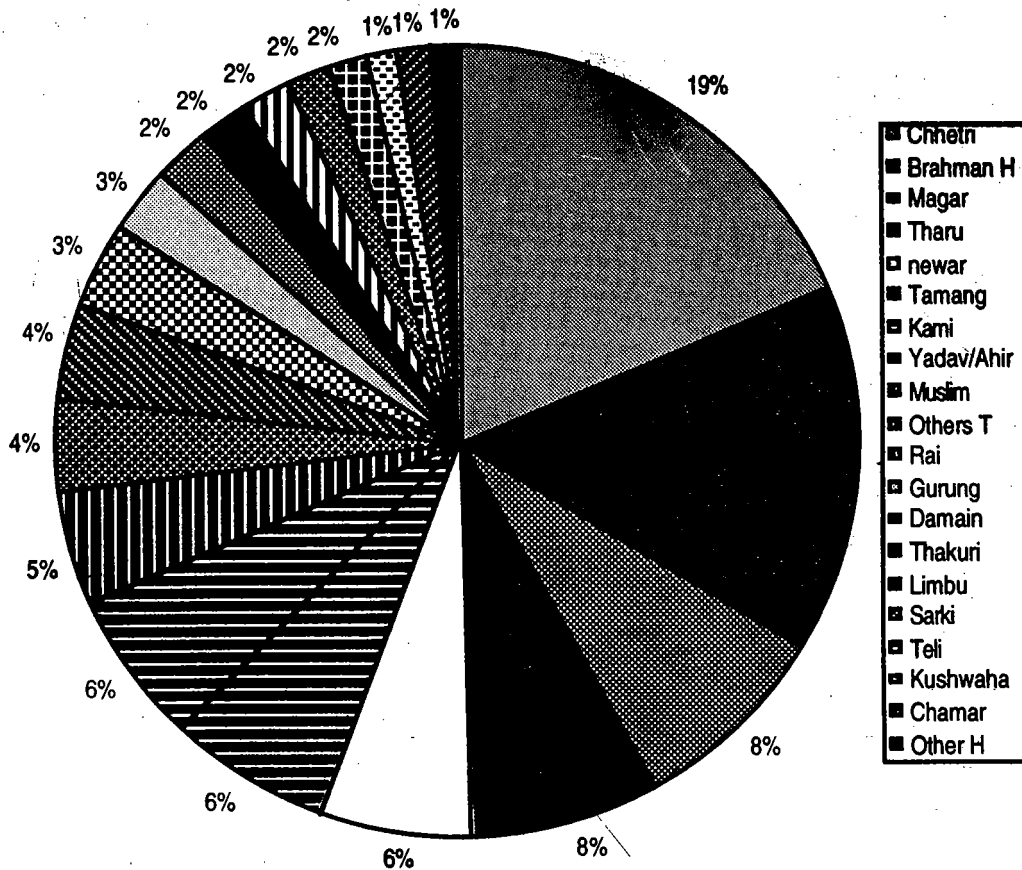
For analytical purpose, those caste/ethnic groups whose share in the total population was one per cent or more are called "Major" groups and rest of the groups are called "Minor" groups. Percentage share of each group, major and minor, in the total population of Nepal is presented in Annex 1. Table 2.1 presents "Major" caste/ethnic groups, i.e. having at least one per cent share. In the total population, largest share was of the Chhetri (16.1%) followed by share of the Hill Brahman (12.9%). The Magars occupied the third position (7.3%). The census list reveals that Tharus (6.5%), the Newars (5.6%), the Tamangs (5.5%), the Kamis (5.2%), the Yadavs/Ahirs (4.1%), the Muslims (3.5%) and the Rais (2.8%) were in the successive order of up to tenth position. In the list, those groups who had at least one per cent share were only eighteen. Regarding all groups, major and minor, the share ranges from the highest of the Chhetris (16.1%) to the lowest of Churautes (0.01%). The Churautes are the Hill Muslims (Bista, 1980 p. 150) and their number recorded is less than two thousand. Other groups next to the lowest are the "Rautes" and the "Rajis" who have population less than five thousand each.

Table 2.1: Major Caste/Ethnic Groups and Percentage Share in Total Population, 1991.

Ethnic	Share	Ethnic	Share	Ethnic	Share	Ethnic	Share	Ethnic	Share
Groups	%	Groups	%	Groups	%	Groups	%	Groups	%
Chhetri	16.1	Newar	5.6	Muslim	3.5	Damain	2.0	Teli	1.4
Brahman	12.9	Tamang	5.5	Others	3.4	Thakuri	1.6	Kushwaha	1.1
Magar	7.2	Kami	5.2	Rai	2.8	Limbu	1.6	Chamar	1.1
Tharu	6.5	Yadav/Ahir	4.1	Gurung	2.4	Sarki	1.5	Others H	1.0

Source : CBS, 1993; Population Census 1991, Vol. I, Part VII, Table 25.

Figure 1: Population Composition by Caste/Ethnic Groups, Nepal, 1991



Source : Table 2.1

In proportional composition, only two groups, the Chhetris and the Brahmans (Hill) are found above ten per cent; they together made up 29 per cent in the total population. The Brahmans and the Chhetris population of Nepal has had the dominant role in the formation of modern Kingdom of Nepal in the political, social and religious realm. In the cumulative form, those 18 major groups constituted more than four fifths (82.2%) of the population of Nepal. Remaining 42 groups together had a share of less than one seventh (14.3%)(Figure 1).

3. Sex Composition

The sex ratio of population is the product of its demographic and social behavior. In general, the sex ratio is defined as¹ number of males per hundred female population. The overall sex ratio of population of Nepal counted in 1991 is 99.5, this means there are 995 males in every thousand female population.

The sex ratio of population of Nepal is found varying within the range of 105 to 99.5 over the period of last three decades. The over all sex ratio of population, in general, tends to fall within the range of 95 to 102. The national sex ratio outside the range of 90 to 105 is viewed as extreme (Shryock and Siegel 1971). In this profile of sex composition of population in a country, an examination of sex ratio of each caste/ethnic group of Nepal, however, presents a unique situation. There are extreme circumstances in the sex composition of some groups. For example - sex ratio is the highest (157.5) for the Lepchas and the lowest (35.6) for the Rautes (Annex 2), both are minor groups. Their share in total population was very low (the Lepchas 0.03%, the Rautes 0.02%).

Table 3.1: Sex Ratio and Population Share of Major Caste/Ethnic Groups, 1991

Caste/Ethnic Group	Sex Ratio	Population(%)	Rank
			Population share
Total Population	99.5	100.00	---
1. Yadav/Ahir	111.2	4.14	8
2. Teli	109.9	1.36	16
3. Kushwaha	107.5	1.11	17
4. Muslim	106.2	3.53	9
5. Chamar	104.2	1.10	18
6. Tharu	101.1	6.46	4
7. Tamang	100.1	5.51	6
8. Newar	99.5	5.63	5
9. Brahman (Hill)	97.7	12.92	2
10. Rai	97.1	2.84	10
11. Thakuri	96.1	1.62	13
12. Kami	96.0	5.21	7
13. Chhetri	95.6	16.05	1
14. Limbu	95.6	1.61	14
15. Sarki	94.5	1.49	15
16. Magar	94.1	7.24	3
17. Damain	94.1	1.99	12
18. Gurung	92.4	2.43	11
Total 18 groups	-	82.24	1 to 18
Population 1 % and above.			

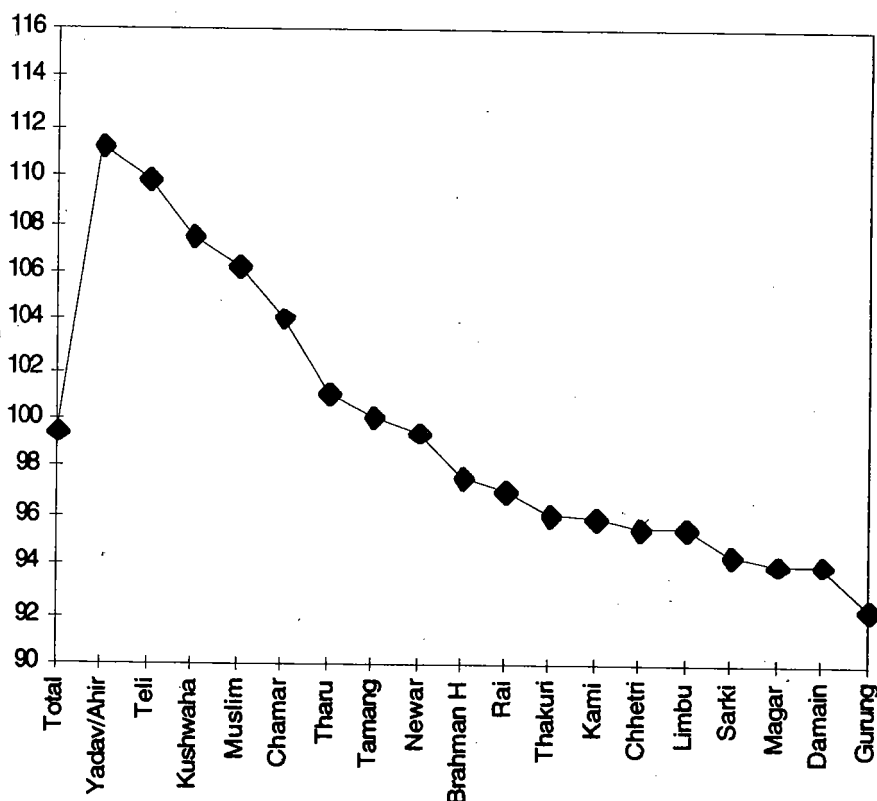
Source: CBS, 1993, *Population Census 1991, Vol.I, Part VII, Table 25*

The next limit of sex ratio that covers all other groups ranges between 92.1 for the Badis² to 116.4 for the Marwadis (Annex 2). Again, these

groups had small share in the population (Marwadi 0.16%, Badi 0.04%). It is obvious from Table 3.1 that sex ratio is above 100 for groups whose origin is in the Tarai and below 100 for those whose origin is in the Hill region.

In order to understand the phenomena in a more comprehensive manner, an attempt is made to examine the sex ratios of the groups by age limiting the analysis to those having the ratio beyond the acceptable range, i.e. above 105 and below 95. In this endeavor, the sex ratio in each age group for the Lepchas is found unexpectedly very high and contrary to this it is very low for the Rautes. According to the census record, they are numerically small and both originated in the Hill. In general, it seems very unrealistic for a human population to remain in such an uneven condition. These extreme sex ratios are beyond the expectation unless there are strong reasons to support.

Figure 2: Sex Ratio of Total and Major Ethnic Groups Nepal 1991



Source : Table 3.1

It could be a topic of priority for demographic and/or sociological research. At this stage, however, question may arise what could be the reason

for distortion in sex balance of some community relative to others. At the same time, others may raise doubt for omission of either sex of the community in the census counting. But persistent omission of either sex in all age groups is hard to believe. If the situation continues for longer, existence of these small groups remain in doubt.

It is urgently necessary, therefore, to initiate research study on the subject to understand many aspects of demographic and socio-economic behavior of the groups and necessary measures be taken to maintain existence of minor community. Figure 2 presents range and variation of sex ratios of major groups.

A close view of the sex ratio by age presented in Table 3.2 indicates that except in a few cases, sex ratio of the Tarai groups are very high. This feature of high sex ratio is observed in all age groups with some exception particularly in the age 25 to 34 where in major cases the ratios are close to 100. In the case of Hill groups, on the other hand, the ratios are somehow balanced up to age 14 and surprisingly much lower in the working ages, 15 to 44. It is also noted that ratios are in favor of males in the higher ages. In a comparison of sex ratios of the Hill groups under consideration with those of the Chhetris and the Brahmans, the major groups in the population of Nepal, it is noticed that ratios followed similar pattern until the age 54 but the ratios of major groups are more stable than those of small groups. The picture showing considerable differences in sex ratios by age support the evidence that there could be substantial size of emigration of working age males belonging to some specific Hill groups such as the Gurungs and the Magars, and immigration of those associated with groups belonging to the Tarai. Under or over reporting of females, in the census, for a particular age range and for specific groups, is less likely.

**Table 3.2: Sex Ratio of Selected Caste/Ethnic Groups
by age, Nepal 1991**

Caste/Ethnic Group	Total	Age Groups							
		0-4	5-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
High Sex Ratio Groups									
Lepcha	153.5	151.1	174.3	144.4	120.5	157.4	166.3	197.8	139.4
Marwadi	116.4	103.8	106.4	115.7	122.3	141.3	124.8	123.9	99.1
Rajput	112.7	105.1	111.3	115.2	105.3	118.6	123.0	123.0	121.7
Brahman(t)	111.3	108.2	113.5	113.0	100.9	113.3	118.9	117.3	113.5
Yadav/Ahir	111.2	108.0	120.1	106.7	99.4	114.0	118.4	111.0	111.9
Bengali	111.1	105.4	107.7	110.6	104.8	127.5	125.7	105.3	132.0
Baniya	110.9	106.7	113.2	108.5	101.9	118.1	122.7	120.3	111.9
Sudhi/Kalwar	110.9	107.1	116.6	112.2	100.8	112.5	116.9	109.9	107.4
Teli	109.9	108.9	116.7	106.1	98.2	109.1	119.3	113.6	116.2
Kurmi	109.1	101.1	118.2	105.9	97.1	110.9	120.2	116.8	107.1
Kushwaha	107.5	104.3	113.8	104.7	96.6	108.1	112.7	112.7	117.3
Muslim	106.2	102.0	112.5	97.9	95.7	114.1	118.5	112.4	113.1
Low Sex Ratio Groups									
Raute	35.6	42.4	45.3	35.1	25.2	26.0	30.7	24.8	36.2
Wadi	92.1	97.3	97.2	78.2	88.3	85.3	101.6	123.2	128.9
Gurung	92.4	103.0	104.3	83.7	72.2	80.7	96.0	104.7	99.6
Danuwar	93.0	96.4	95.5	83.8	82.9	94.2	100.7	108.5	94.8
Thakali	93.4	102.8	98.2	88.9	78.9	96.4	99.0	103.1	89.3
Damain	94.1	99.8	102.8	79.7	82.9	89.1	97.1	114.3	119.6
Magar	94.1	102.0	103.3	82.4	78.3	86.0	99.2	107.3	107.4
Jirel	94.2	96.6	100.3	93.8	98.2	83.4	82.8	87.0	100.0
Bhote	94.2	105.6	101.5	83.2	89.6	91.9	91.3	90.4	95.5
Sarki	94.5	103.3	104.8	78.2	80.6	86.7	97.0	111.2	126.6
Sex Ratio of Leading Groups									
Chhetri	95.6	102.2	102.2	86.9	86.1	90.2	97.0	104.3	105.4
Brahman (h)	97.7	103.3	102.8	92.4	90.9	94.9	98.6	104.4	93.3

Source: Same as Table 3.1

4. Distribution of Caste/ Ethnic Groups by Geographic Region

For socio-economic planning, research and even for general administration purpose, it is of prime importance to examine dispersal of population in various geographic location of the country. The census of 1991 recorded that the Mountain, Hill and Tarai accommodated 7.8, 45.5 and 46.7 per cent of the population of Nepal respectively. The physical area of these regions,

however, covers 35.2, 41.7 and 23.1 per cent of the total area that exhibits uneven distribution of population in the regions. Among explicitly listed sixty groups, 29 are those whose origin is the Tarai region, origin of another 29 groups is the Hill and 2 groups are from the Mountain region of Nepal (CBS, 1995). These 60 groups comprise 95.5 per cent of the total population of the country. The remaining proportion is supplemented by residuals (others, 4.45 % and not stated, 0.05%) (Annex 1).

At the national level, as mentioned in section 2, eighteen major caste/ethnic groups cover 82 per cent of the total population. However, the scenario changes considerably if the composition is appraised with respect to each of the three regions (Annex 3). In the Mountain, there are 15 groups each has at least 1 per cent share in the Mountain population and they together constitute 95 per cent of population in the Mountain. Remaining three fourths of groups have less than one per cent share each. Among the major ones the Chhetris are the largest single group and constitute one third (33.3%) of the Mountain population followed by Tamangs and the Hill Brahmins with almost equal share. These three groups together make over half (56.2%) of the Mountain population. Other twelve groups each have their share ranging from one per cent to less than 10 per cent (Annex 3). The Sherpas and the Bhotes, are placed in seventh and sixteenth position and have 4.4 and 0.45 per cent share respectively.

In the Hill, each of 13 caste/ethnic groups has at least 1 per cent share in the Hill population and together constituted 94 per cent of population the Hill. Remaining over three fourths of the groups have less than one per cent share each. Also in the Hill, the Chhetris are the largest and constitute 21.8 per cent of the Hill population followed by share of the Hill Brahmin (17%) and the Magar (12%). These three groups make half of the Hill population. Other ten groups have their share of one percent to less than 10 per cent.

Similarly, in the Tarai, there are 23 caste/ethnic groups, each of which has at least 1 per cent share in population of the Tarai and together composed four fifths (80%) of population of the region. Remaining 37 groups have their share less than 1 per cent each. The Tharus, the indigenous people of the Tarai, are the largest single group and constitute 13.5 per cent of the Tarai population followed by share of the Hill Brahmins (9%) and Yadavs/the Ahirs (8.7%). These three groups comprise little less than one third of population of the Tarai. Other 20 groups, each of which has share of 1 per cent to less than 10 per cent. The first six groups, in terms of population size, aggregated half of the Tarai population of Nepal (Annex 3).

The analysis demonstrates significant differences in the caste/ethnic composition of the population of the three regions. Discrepancy can be observed from Table 4.1 that the population of the Hill and Mountain is

concentrated within few groups contrary to that of the Tarai where there are relatively a large number of groups.

Table 4.1: Origin and Destination of major caste/ethnic groups and groups having highest share in population, 1991

Region	Having at least 1% share		groups originating from			highest share		% share of 1st 3 groups combined
	No. of groups	% cover	Mt.	Hill	Tarai	of group	% share	
Mountain	15	95	1	14	—	Chhetri	33	Chhetri, Tamang
Hill	13	94	—	13	—	Chhetri	22	Brahman(hill), 56
Tarai	23	80	—	8	15	Tharu	13.5	Chhetri, Brahman(h), Magar 51
								Tharu, Brahman(h) Yadav/Ahir, 31.5

Source: Same as in Table 3.1

In the Mountain and Hill, there are three groups in each region, and each has more than ten per cent share in the population of the respective region, while there is only one such group in the Tarai. Similarly, there are 14 groups in the Hill each of which has population less than one thousand; in the Tarai such groups are only six. There is not a single group of less than 100 persons either in the Hill or in the Tarai. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that all resident groups of the Hill region having at least 1 per cent share in the Hill population originated from the Hill region itself. The same is not true in the case of the Tarai and Mountain population. In the Mountain, the overwhelming majority is of those groups whose origin is the Hill and over one third (35.4%) are the Hill people.

In the census, each individual is counted at his/her usual place of residence, the destination. Taking into account of the origin of caste/ethnic groups and their destination, the usual place of residence at the census time, it has been possible to construct a Caste/Ethnic Migration Matrix. Table 4.2 reveals several points to enhance understanding about the historical nature of population mobility in the country.

Table 4.2: Caste/Ethnic Population by Place of Origin and Destination, 1991

Destination	Total	Subtotal	Origin of the Caste/Ethnic groups			No caste stated
			Mountain	Hill	Tarai	
Mountain	7.80 (1,443,130)	7.80 (1,442,551)	0.38	7.37	0.05	0.00
Hill	45.53 (8,419,889)	45.51 (8,414,897)	0.26	44.50	0.75	0.03
Tarai	46.66 (8,628,078)	46.65 (8,625,840)	0.03	16.49	30.12	0.01
Total	100.00 (18,491,097)	99.96 (18,483,288)	0.67 (124,562)	68.36 (12,639,956)	30.93 (5,718,770)	0.04 (7,809)

Source: CBS 1995, *Population Census 1991*, Vol. IV, Table 14.

Note : Figures in parenthesis are total numbers.

Table 4.2 shows that almost all populations (99.96%) stated their caste/ethnicity in the census, only 0.04 per cent did not report. As mentioned above, it is evident from the Table that over two thirds (68.4%) of population of Nepal belong to caste/ethnic groups whose origin is the Hill, and slightly less than one third (30.9%) belong to the Tarai origin. Less than 1 percent are from the Mountain region. In other words, 12.6 million people belong to caste/ethnic groups whose origin is the Hill region, origin of 5.7 million people is the Tarai, and 0.1 million belong to the groups of the Mountain region.

The share of the groups originating from the Mountain itself is less than 5 per cent. In the Hill, the absolute majority of Hill people is still maintained, i.e. 97.8 per cent of the total. However, in the Tarai, the situation is different. The composition is a mixture of the Tarai and the Hill people. Little less than two thirds (64.6%) are those whose origin is the Tarai and little over one third (35.4%) are from the Hill region.

Table 4.2 presents more information. In the historical perspective, it may be viewed as migration matrix in the form of origin and destination of various caste/ethnic groups of Nepal. It conveys that, at the census time, 75 per cent of ethnic people of Nepal were residing at the regions of their origin; out of them 44.5 per cent were in the Hill, 30.1 per cent were in the Tarai, and less than 1 per cent were in the Mountain region. Remaining 25 per cent were found moved ethnically across the place of their origin, that means 4.6 million people of Nepal of various Caste/ethnic groups "Ethnically Migrated" over the period (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: Caste/Ethnic Migration by Regions of Origin and Destination, 1991

Destination	Total	Origin of the caste/ethnic Migrants		
		Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Mountain	29.73	—	29.52	0.21
Hill	4.05	1.04	—	3.01
Tarai	66.22	0.13	66.09	—
Total	100.00 (4,614,348)	1.17 (53,894)	95.61 (4,411,897)	3.22 (148,557)

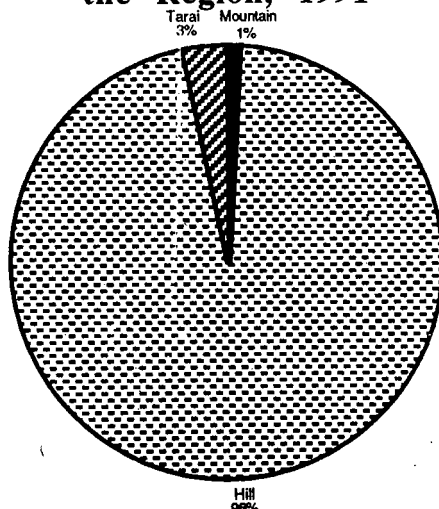
Source: CBS 1995, Population Census 1991, Vol. IV, Table 14.

Note: Figures in parenthesis are total numbers.

The boundary of the region, the Mountain, Hill and the Tarai, in the true sense of the term has not been precisely defined and/or demarcated to match the origin per se of the groups; it is also true that number of persons of different groups may not have made physical move across the region but ethnically considered as migrant. For example, the number of the Chhertis whose origin is said to be the Hill region may have born and enumerated in the same region, the Tarai. Yet, considerable size (25 % of the total population) of "Caste/Ethnic Migration" over time certainly draws attention of all concerned to discern several implications in the society.

The recent analysis on period migration (Niroula 1995, Population Monograph of Nepal, p.161) of caste /ethnic groups indicated that Hill Brahmins were the most migratory group compared to other groups in the community.

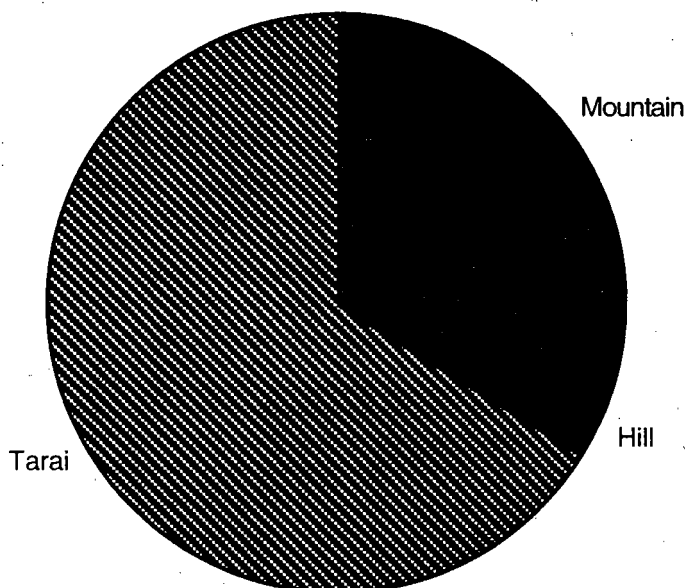
Those caste/ethnic people who moved within the country but across the boundary of origin were over 95 per cent belonging to the Hill groups, share of the Tarai and the Mountain groups were relatively low, Tarai 3.2 per cent and Mountain 1.2 per cent only (Table 4.3).

Figure 3: Origin of Caste/Ethnic Population Residing across the Region, 1991

Source : Table 4.3

Regarding destination of migrants, little over two thirds of Hill migrants were found settled in the Tarai and the remaining were in the Mountain region. Three fourth of migrants to the Hill were from the Tarai and one fourths were from the Mountain region. The outflow of Hill people over the last three decades has been the topic of discussion in most of the migration studies (For example, Niroula, 1995; Gurung, 1989; CBS 1987, NPC 1984 pp. 74-76).

Figure 4: Destination of Caste/Ethnic Population Residence across the Region, 1991



Source: Table 4.3

Agricultural land has been the principal source of livelihood in rural areas of the Hill. Rapid population growth has resulted in creation of new households and fragmentation of limited agricultural land. The marginal land not suitable for cultivation has been acquired for farming in the Mountain and Hills, forest depletion has been continuing in many areas threatening fragile natural environment and contributed to land slides and soil erosion (CBS, 1995a).

Traditional way of cultivation practices in the highland region contributed to washing out of topsoil every year. Population growth, on the other hand, has resulted in increasing under-employment, unemployment, landlessness and consequently increase in rural poverty. The strongest push factor, among others, could be increasing population pressure in the Hill region itself over the last three decades confounded with search for employment and desire of people for education. In such an intricate demographic, social and economic

process people suffered in many respect, and they found no other alternative but to migrate mostly to the adjoining region, the Tarai. In recent years, land in the Tarai is also saturating in terms of population density. For various reasons, time is not very far when the Tarai can no longer sustain more people. Figure 3 presents share of population originating from the regions and Figure 4 shows their share at the destination regions.

5. Caste/Ethnic Groups by District

As reported in the 1991 census, population of districts ranges from 5 thousand in Manang to 675 thousand in Kathmandu. Population density as an indicator of crowding varied even more widely than population size. The highest and the lowest densities were also maintained for the same districts, Kathmandu with the highest (1,709.7 persons/sq. km.) and Manang with the lowest density (2.0 persons per sq. km.)³.

Apart from natural variation among districts there are distinction among groups, each district or group of districts may tend to present uniqueness in terms of caste/ethnic composition of population. To begin with, the first three leading groups in terms of population size are marked in all 75 districts (Annex 4). The first three leading groups combined, in each of the 75 districts, made 29.6 to 89.9 per cent of the district population. Therefore, the leading first three groups may form a core group to examine nature of population in most of the districts. If the first leading group is considered in each of the district population, there appears a geographic proximity in the residence pattern of most of the groups, only few are found scattered. For example, the Chhetris are found in geographic proximity in the mid-Western and far-Western Hill and Mountain region where as the Tharus are found scattered in the districts of the Tarai.

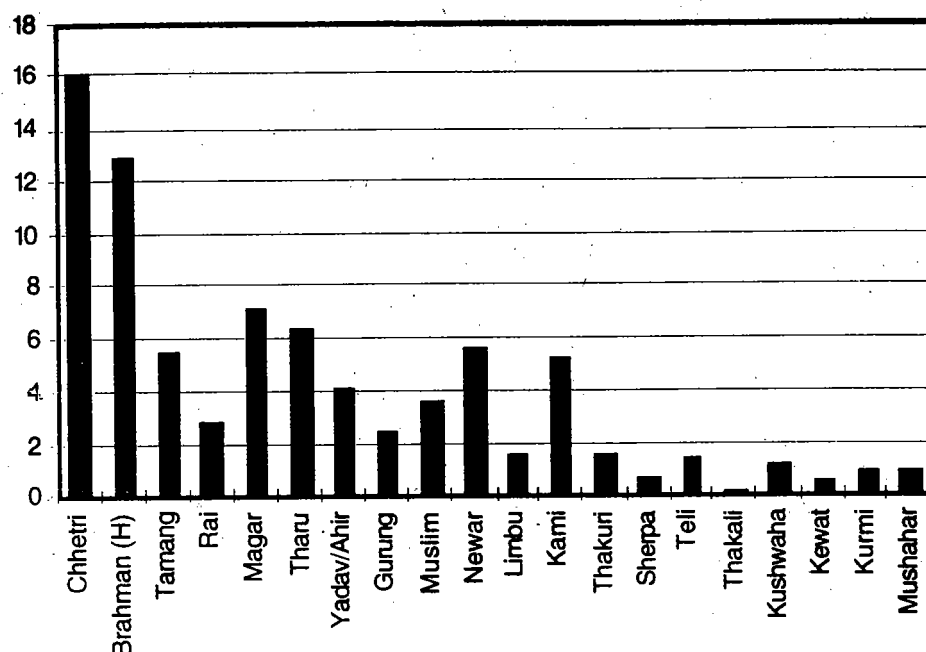
Among the 60 caste/ethnic groups there were only 11 groups to lead in terms of highest population size of all 75 districts; 14 groups had the second highest and 18 groups had the third highest population size. To make it clearer, the 11 leading groups who had highest population size were Chhetris in 22 districts, Brahmans (Hill) in 9, the Tamangs in 7 districts; the Rais, the Magars and the Tharus each in 6 districts; the Yadavs/the Ahirs in 5 districts; the Muslims and the Gurung each in 4 districts; the Newar and the Limbu each in 3 districts (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Caste/Ethnic Groups, Population share and Number of Districts with their First, Second and Third Position in terms of Population Size, 1991

Caste/Ethnic Groups	Population share (in %)	Districts in which position hold by Groups		
		First	Second	Third
1. Chhetri	16.1	22	20	14
2. Brahman(Hill)	12.9	9	20	19
3. Tamang	5.5	7	2	2
4. Rai	2.8	6	1	2
5. Magar	7.2	6	5	7
6. Tharu	6.5	6	7	1
7. Yadav/Ahir	4.1	5	1	2
8. Gurung	2.4	4	2	2
9. Muslim	3.5	4	5	2
10. Newar	5.6	3	—	2
11. Limbu	1.6	3	—	3
12. Kami	5.2	—	5	12
13. Thakuri	1.6	—	3	1
14. Sherpa	0.6	—	2	1
15. Teli	1.4	—	—	2
16. Thakali	0.1	—	1	—
17. Kushwaha	1.1	—	1	—
18. Kewat	0.5	—	—	1
19. Kurmi	0.9	—	—	1
20. Mushahar	0.8	—	—	1
Total	80.4	75	75	75

Source: Same as in Table 3.1.

Though there is a long list of caste/ ethnic groups, Table 5.1 clearly shows that 20 groups together constituted four-fifths of the population of Nepal. It is also noted that some districts were inhabited by a few groups compared to the groups in other districts.

Figure 5: Ethnic Population Leading in Districts

Source : Table 5.1

In terms of the district population, the first three major groups combined, constituted the lowest 29.6 per cent in Parsa to the highest 89.9 per cent in Bhaktapur. It is clear that (Annex 4) a large number of ethnic groups had representation in the district population of the Tarai, in 15 out of 20 districts the leading three groups combined had population lowest 29.6 per cent to the highest 49.5 per cent, compared to share of ethnic groups in the Hill and Mountain where population concentration was among few groups only.

A comparison of Tables 3.1 and 5.1 exhibits distinct features. It is found that 15 major groups appear in both tables. It means, these groups have at least 1 per cent share in the total population of the country and also they have a major share in the district population. However, five groups, namely the Sherpas, the Thakalis, the Kewats, the Kurmis and the Mushahars; even if they have either second or third position in the district population, each has less than 1 per cent share in the population of Nepal. On the other hand, another three major groups, namely the Damains, the Sarkis and the Chamars even if they contribute 1 to 2 per cent share in the total population they could not lead in any district either in the first, second or in the third position. Figure 5 provides understanding of how caste/ethnic groups occupied the first, second or the third position in district population.

5.1 Sex Ratio by District

Once the size of major group(s) in a district population is characterized, analysis of sex composition would mark the nature of sex balance in the district population and those of the major caste/ethnic groups. Examination of sex ratio of district population confirms that ratios in 75 districts range from the highest of 109.4 to the lowest 83 per cent. In 1991, there were 35 districts with the population sex ratio above the national average of 99.5, remaining 40 districts had the ratio below the national average. Among 75 districts, Mustang had the highest sex ratio (109.4), but the district had next to the lowest share (0.04%) in the total population, sex ratio (108.4) of Kathmandu was the second highest, in fact the district had highest population share (3.7 %). In Kathmandu, three fourths of population was represented by three major groups; the Newars, the Hill Brahmans and the Chhetris. Manang, the least populated district, was the third in order to possess high sex ratio. Other 7 districts which had a high sex ratio in the order were from the Tarai and the ratios fall within the narrow range of 107.7 to 107. Some of the Mountain districts, Rasuwa and Humla, where 65 per cent were the Tamangs and 43 per cent were the Chhetris respectively, also had high sex ratio.

On the other hand, eight districts had sex ratios below 90. Achham, where over half of people were Chhetri, sex ratio was 88.6. The district is located in the Far-Western development region. In Pyuthan, where the Magars, Chhetris and the Brahmans (Hill) constituted 70 per cent of population the sex ratio was 87.2. This district falls in the Mid-Western region. All other 6 districts with low sex ratio and where there was prevalence of the Brahmans (Hill), the Chhetris and the Magars, belong to the Western region of Nepal. Among the 75 districts, Gulmi had the lowest sex ratio (83.0). Major three groups, the Brahmans, the Chhetris and the Magars, covered 72 per cent of the Gulmi district population.

In demographic regime, factors leading to changes in sex balance of a population are sex selectivity of migration, sex differentials in mortality and finally the sex ratio at birth. Sex selectivity in census reporting also affects sex balance of a population. Some group of people may have different attitude and behavior in reporting as well as in demographic performance than other groups. No research hitherto, has made an attempt to focus these issues at the district level. The NFS 1976 at the national level, showed insignificant difference in fertility among different religious groups. Virtually, no information is available about differences in sex ratio at birth. Attempt has been made to estimate infant mortality for districts but sex differentials in mortality, if any, for district population is yet to be established. Probably, it could be sex differential in mobility combined with possible error in census

reporting that contributed distortion in sex balance of district population. In addition, it is apparent that most of the districts with lower sex ratio fall in the Western Hill region. Historically, the region is well known for emigration, particularly males, majority of whom join the armed forces. These evidences, except otherwise, suggest that the process has been continuing probably with changing objectives. Regarding census under count, there has been discussion about the issues and evidences suggest that omission could be more against males.

At the national level, the under count was estimated in the range of 3 to 4 per cent. Unfortunately, the discrepancy was not considered at the district level (CBS Bulletin 1995, Evaluation of Census Under count). It is desirable to assess the problem more thoroughly and also in the context of other demographic indicators.

In the process of examining distortion in sex balance for districts with high and low sex ratio, an attempt is made to look into the issue by age groups. In this attempt, sex ratio of population is computed for age of major caste/ethnic groups. Among the districts with high sex ratio, four are from the Mountain, one from the Hill and eight from the Tarai region. The ratios are also found high in most of the age groups of population in those districts. High sex for population of Kathmandu is understandable where there is influx of male population from other parts of the Kingdom and abroad. Among the Tarai districts, the ratios are high in all age groups except in 25-34 age where sex ratios are closure to 100. One among the reasons for balanced sex ratio in that age may be due to marriage related immigration of females of similar socio-cultural groups across the border. In the Mountain districts (Mustang, Manang and Rasuwa) the ratios are found fluctuating from one age to another may indicate a reporting error and seems difficult to explain otherwise.

Among the districts with low sex ratio, the ratios are significantly low in working ages, 15 to 54, in all districts. Such an observation is strong indication of heavy out-migration of working age males. However, relatively balanced sex ratio in older ages, 55 and over, in most of the districts may indicate incidence of returning migration in those districts (Table 5.1.1).

Table 5.1.1: Sex Ratio of Population for Selected Districts by age, Nepal 1991

Selected Districts	Total	Age Groups							
		0-4	5-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 +
High Sex Ratio Group									
Mustang	109.4	98.2	98.8	104.3	141.8	129.1	112.5	95.7	81.7
Kathmandu	108.4	104.3	108.7	109.2	111.7	110.3	111.0	103.8	94.9
Manang	108.4	100.4	103.4	96.1	143.9	129.0	98.9	90.3	89.4
Parsa	107.7	104.5	113.2	100.4	98.0	112.9	120.7	116.0	110.0
Dhanusha	107.6	105.4	117.9	102.7	95.3	114.1	115.0	99.5	101.4
Banke	107.2	101.9	110.1	99.4	101.3	112.2	120.7	125.9	118.0
Sarlahi	107.2	103.5	115.4	104.5	98.7	108.5	111.5	105.2	101.7
Mahottari	107.1	106.0	118.6	102.5	94.5	110.9	114.3	98.1	94.1
Rautahat	107.0	102.2	116.3	102.1	97.6	107.8	116.4	104.1	105.9
Bara	107.0	106.5	113.9	98.6	95.5	109.0	117.9	115.8	112.8
Rasuwa	106.9	103.0	104.5	98.8	115.3	112.4	108.1	113.3	122.1
Kapilwastu	106.2	102.0	111.5	95.5	96.0	110.1	121.5	121.7	114.5
Humla	106.1	98.6	110.5	102.1	105.4	108.6	114.8	98.9	120.5
Low Sex Ratio Group									
Achham	88.6	102.4	104.9	79.3	75.8	71.6	76.6	85.6	100.6
Palpa	87.6	98.9	99.0	71.0	68.7	76.4	89.5	107.5	105.0
Baglung	87.3	103.4	99.8	72.5	63.2	72.3	88.0	104.4	108.3
Pyuthan	87.2	100.9	100.2	69.8	68.5	76.6	86.9	97.8	102.1
Arghakhachi	87.0	103.5	97.8	66.8	66.3	74.2	85.9	114.1	108.2
Syangja	86.7	105.2	103.6	72.9	56.2	68.2	87.2	102.1	98.3
Parwat	86.5	102.9	101.0	76.3	59.6	69.4	81.9	100.4	101.0
Gulmi	83.0	99.8	97.2	65.4	56.8	65.3	83.4	100.1	107.4

Source: Same as in Table 3.1.

In addition, sex ratio of population is also computed for the major three caste/ethnic groups of selected districts. In Kathmandu, The Hill Brahman are found in excess of males compared to females and so are the Chhetri but to the less extent, excess of males in the district may be due to male selective in-migration. Unexpected high sex ratio of Hill Brahman in Manang district could be due to temporary in-migration or fluctuation in sex ratio due to relatively small base population. In the districts of the Tarai, the Yadavs/the Ahirs have invariably high sex ratio and not less than 110 in any district. This may be either due to immigration of males and/or under reporting of females in the Yadav community.

Table 5.1.2: Sex Ratio of Selected Caste/Ethnic Groups for Selected Districts, 1991

High Sex Ratio				Low Sex Ratio			
Population Position				Population Position			
District	First	Second	Third	District	First	Second	Third
Mustang	Gurung	Thakali	Kami	Achham	Chhetri	Kami Brahman h	
Ratio	94.6	100.6	108.7	Ratio	88.98	86.66	92.95
Kathmandu	Newar	Brahman h	Chhetri	Palpa	Magar	Brahman h	Chhetri
Ratio	101.4	16.3	106.2	Ratio	88.22	86.74	83.43
Manang	Gurung	Sherpa	Brahman h	Baglung	Magar	Brahman h	Chhetri
Ratio	91.6	87.2	442.9	Ratio	89.11	86.55	83.31
Parsa	Muslim	Tharu	Kurmi	Pyuthan	Magar	Chhetri	Brahman h
Ratio	104.6	103.0	107.6	Ratio	89.22	83.09	90.35
Dhanusha	Yadav/Ah	Muslim	Kewat	Arghakhachi	Brahman h	Chhetri	Magar
Ratio	110.9	105.4	105.6	Ratio	86.37	81.93	90.73
Banke	Muslim	Tharu	Chhetri	Syangja	Brahman h	Magar	Chhetri
Ratio	109.0	102.4	103.3	Ratio	88.31	85.86	81.67
Sarlahi	Yadav/Ah	Kushwah	Muslim	Parwat	Brahman h	Chhetri	Magar
Ratio	112.64	109.88	106.01	Ratio	86.20	83.31	85.09
Mahotari	Yadav/Ah	Muslim	Brahman t	Gulmi	Brahman h	Chhetri	Magar
Ratio	110.21	104.77	106.03	Ratio	82.92	80.41	84.19
Rautahat	Muslim	Yadav/Ah	Teli	Ratio	100.03	114.55	108.62
Bara	Tharu	Muslim	Yadav/Ahir				
Ratio	104.61	106.73	112.51				
Rasuwa	Tamang	Brahman h	Gurung				
Ratio	104.19	111.85	97.13				
Kapilwast	Muslim	Tharu	Yadav/Ahir				
Ratio	106.71	101.08	111.97				
Humla	Chhetri	Thakuri	Sherpa				
Ratio	107.55	104.27	94.25				

Source: Same as in Table 3.1.

In some districts of Tarai; the Muslims, the Kurmis, the Kushwahs and the Brahmans (Tarai) are also found in favor of males but not to the extent of Yadav/Ahir. In the mountain districts, the Brahmans (Hill), the Chhetris and the Kamis hved high sex ratio but numerically small in size (Table 5.1.2). The scenario is different among low sex ratio group of districts. There is similarity among major resident groups in those districts, they are mostly the Brahmans (Hill), the Chhetris and the Magars. Except in few cases, each of the group has sex ratio below 90. For consistently low sex ratio of population among the adjoining districts of the region and within few

community groups could be due to sex selectivity of migration, particularly emigration of males of those groups. This finding also supports the statement in Section 5. Persistent omission of males of the noted community in census count is less convincing.

6. Literacy Status and Educational Attainment

The literacy rate of population of Nepal has been low under 40 per cent till 1991. If one proceeds to diagnose the status of each sex or of caste/ethnic group(s), the situation is further aggravating. Until the political change in 1950, educational opportunity for common people of the country was virtually closed. Educational institutions were negligible and were located in the capital. In the villages, there were virtually not a single institute for higher education. Higher education was thought to be a privilege and was mostly attained by selected few groups. After democracy in 1950, efforts were made to establish institutions both for primary and higher education. In 1994, the number of primary schools reached to 21.1 thousand where 3,191 thousand students were enrolled (approx. 60% boys and 40% girls). Similarly, 97.8 thousand students were enrolled in higher education (CBS, 1996a, p. 146-158). Yet, examination of census results revealed that momentum has not been geared to achieve literacy for all, rather there is a wide gap between literacy rates of two sexes. At the national level, male literacy rate was 55 per cent and female literacy rate was lower than half (25%) of males recorded in 1991. The surveys conducted during 1995/96 estimated literacy rate on a par with the census value. Nepal Living Standard Survey, 1996 estimated male and female literacy rate 52 and 24 per cent respectively. Similarly, corresponding estimates of Nepal Multiple Indicator Surveillance (second cycle) were 57 and 27 per cent (CBS, 1996; NPC, 1996). The differentials are much stronger if literacy status among caste/ethnic groups are considered. Examination of census data on literacy discloses that the Marwadis have the highest rate among all sixty groups, 88 per cent of the Marwadis are literate. Other two groups followed by the Marwadis are the Kayasthas (65 % literate) and the Thakali (62.6 % literate) but literacy rate is reduced by more than 20 per cent compared to rate of the former. Since population share of each of the three groups is less than 0.3 per cent, small amount of error occurred during reporting, recording and/or processing census information may contribute significant changes in the results of the small groups. In addition, there are other groups too for whom one may raise doubt for literacy registered in the census, however, the share of such groups is again less than 0.5 per cent (Annex 5 and 10). Among major groups, the Brahman (Hill), have highest rate of literacy (62 % literate) compared to these of many other groups.

In Nepal, traditionally, there has been the division of work for different groups, the Brahmans must perform religious functions and rituals. They are, therefore, naturally motivated to complete minimum level of education and acquired high level education. The Newar group literacy rate of 61 per cent. The Chhetris, who have the highest share have only 46 per cent literacy. The Magars and the Tharus hold third and fourth position in population size and are 40 and 28 per cent literate, respectively (Table 6.1). It is observed that nearly one third among the major groups have literacy rate above the national average of 39 per cent, remaining two third groups have literacy rate below the national average.

Table 6.1: Population share, Literacy Rate and Educational Attainment for Major Caste/ethnic groups, 1991

Caste/Ethnic Group	Population share (%)	(Literacy and Educational Attainment in %)						
		Literacy Rate	No Schooling	Primary	Secondary	SLC	Int+ Not	Others+ Std
All Groups	100.00	39.3	9.0	16.1	8.9	2.0	1.5	1.8
1. Chhetri	16.05	45.1	10.0	19.4	10.5	2.0	1.3	1.9
2. Brahman (H)	12.92	61.6	12.6	21.7	16.2	4.6	3.9	2.6
3. Magar	7.24	39.2	10.7	18.9	6.6	0.7	0.3	2.0
4. Tharu	6.46	27.6	7.4	12.3	5.5	0.9	0.4	1.1
5. Newar	5.63	60.1	11.0	19.6	15.6	5.4	5.6	2.9
6. Tamang	5.51	27.7	8.1	13.4	3.8	0.5	0.2	1.7
7. Kami	5.21	25.9	7.4	13.7	3.1	0.3	0.1	1.3
8. Yadav/Ahir	4.14	26.3	4.7	10.1	7.2	1.8	1.1	1.4
9. Muslim	3.53	22.2	5.8	9.1	4.3	0.8	0.7	1.5
10. Rai	2.84	44.5	11.8	19.6	9.1	1.2	0.7	2.1
11. Gurung	2.43	46.9	11.6	19.7	10.6	1.5	0.9	2.6
12. Damai	1.99	28.0	7.8	15.2	3.2	0.2	0.1	1.5
13. Thakuri	1.62	46.9	10.3	19.5	11.4	2.1	1.7	1.9
14. Limbu	1.61	46.8	12.2	20.4	10.6	1.1	0.6	1.9
15. Sarki	1.49	24.1	7.3	12.6	2.5	0.2	0.1	1.4
16. Teli	1.36	36.3	6.4	14.2	10.2	2.5	1.5	1.5
17. Kushwaha	1.11	28.4	5.4	11.8	7.4	1.6	0.8	1.4
18. Chamar	1.10	10.1	2.6	4.8	1.9	0.2	0.1	0.5

Total for 18 groups 82.24

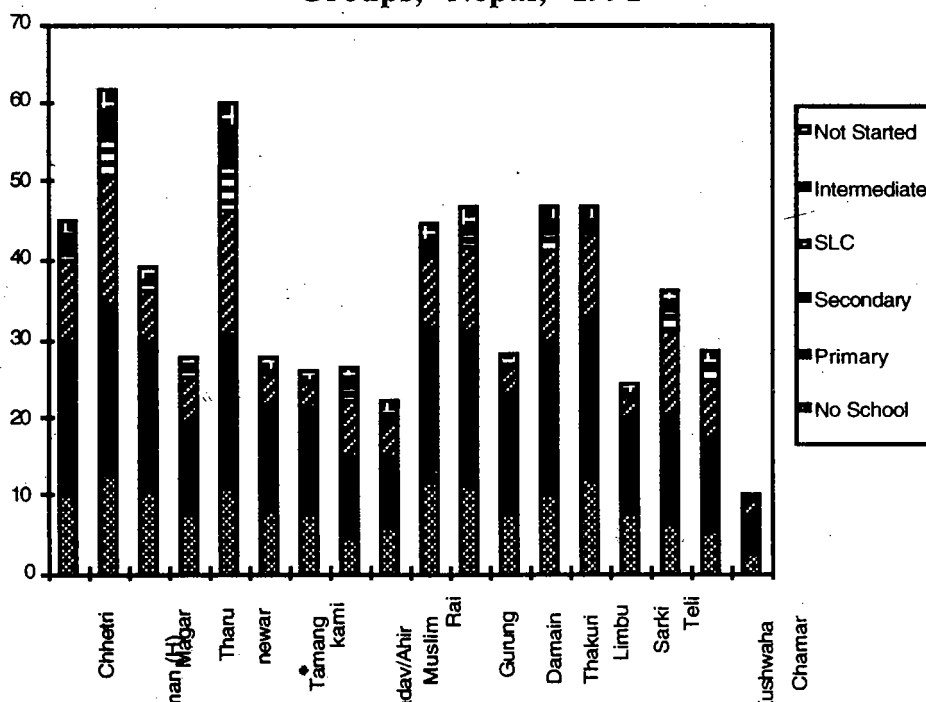
(Population at least 1 %)

Source: CBS, 1993, Population Census 1991, Vol.I, Part VII, Table 26

An appraisal of literacy status of all groups in the list makes it clear that six groups, namely the Chepangs, the Mallahs, the Khatways, the Chamaars, the Dushadhs and Mushahars have literacy rate below 15 per cent. The Mushahar are found to be the least literate group in the population of Nepal, their literacy rate being less than 5 per cent (Annex 5) of the total. Such a discrepancy in literacy among caste/ethnic groups also reflects rationality of educational policy, effectiveness of educational planning and programs over the decades. A large share of government budget is allocated in educational programme every year but the evidences suggest that neither there is a glaring achievement in over all literacy situation nor the gap narrowing among groups. The situation demands for a critical review of the educational policy and the programs to lift status of deprived groups.

In such a background of literacy status of people it is relevant here to investigate who are the educated people and what is their level of performance. To analyse the situation, the educational attainment of major caste/ethnic groups reported in the census is assigned in four categories, namely Primary, Secondary, SLC and the Higher education. Among the 39 per cent literate at the national level, the largest proportion (16 per cent) have completed only primary level of education, 9 percent has the secondary level, 2 per cent the SLC and equivalent, and only 1.5 per cent has completed at least intermediate level of education. Nine per cent is literate but has no formal education.

Figure 6: Literacy and Educational Attainment of Ethnic Groups, Nepal, 1991



Source : Table 6.1

Census statistics on educational attainment indicates a wide gap in educational attainment of different caste/ethnic groups. In the primary level, percentage of the Hill Brahman is the highest, viz among the Hill Brahman 21.7 per cent have achieved primary level of education. The Chamar have the lowest per cent to complete the level, e.g. only 5 per cent literate Chamars completed primary level of education. The Hill Brahmans also maintain the highest percentage in the secondary level, followed by the Newar. However, percentage of the Newar is higher than percentage the Hill Brahmans in SLC and higher education (Table 6.1). Other groups are below 3 per cent in higher education. Figure 8 presents a clear picture of composition of literacy of major caste/ethnic groups and their achievement in various level of education, that is height of a bar in Fig. 6 represents per cent literate decomposed by completed level of education. Educational attainment of caste/ethnic groups are presented in Annex 6.

7. Economic Activity

To understand the labour force participation of various groups in development process of the country, data on economic activity have been analyzed to assess where each of these groups stands in the labour structure of the country. Knowledge on proportional participation of each group in total labour force and their division in various industries of production may help in designing national and regional labour policy for the future.

The degree of participation of labour force in the production of economic goods and services is an indicator of economic development of a country. Higher participation may produce more economic goods and services and bring more wages to the household. Over four fifths of Nepal's population are engaged in agricultural activities where productivity is low, the wage paid to the labour is low and there is massive underemployment; 87 per cent of labourers in agricultural industries were self employed. 56.6 per cent are reported economically active in 1991 and compared to the past it could be even lower (Niroula, 1994). Among them over 80 per cent were engaged in agricultural industries (CBS, 1993) which are largely based on traditional cultivation practices.

Table 7.1 presents percentage of active population for each major group and their distribution in major industry of production. In addition, distribution of economically active population of all groups is presented in Annex 7. Among the major groups, the Tamangs reported are economically the most active (69%). Other major groups - the Magars, the Chhetris, the Tharus, the Brahmans (hill) and the Newars are 63, 61, 55, 52 and 50 per cent active, respectively. Among the listed 60 groups, in Annex 7, percentage of active population of 26 groups are found above the national

average of 56.6 per cent. Those groups who are below the national average almost all (28 groups) belonging to the Tarai region. The Brahmans of Tarai were the lowest to report in labour force participation (36 % active). Marwadis and the Kayasthas were also found below 40 per cent.

Table 7.1: Population Share of Caste/Ethnic Groups in Economic Activity and Participation in Major Industry, 1991

Caste/Ethnic Groups	Populn. Share	Economic-ally Active	Active Popln. in Major Industry (in %)	Agric-ulture & Com.Serv	Personal	Comme-rcce	Manu-facturing
All Groups	100.00	56.6	81.2	10.2	3.5	2.0	
Major Groups							
1. Chhetri	16.05	51.1	87.1	7.0	2.3	0.9	
2. Brahman(h)	12.92	51.5	79.7	12.3	3.6	1.1	
3. Magar	7.24	62.9	91.0	4.5	1.3	1.2	
4. Tharu	6.46	54.8	82.4	12.5	1.3	1.6	
5. Newar	5.63	49.7	56.9	16.1	14.0	5.3	
6. Tamang	5.51	69.1	88.4	4.6	1.7	3.2	
7. Kami	5.21	64.9	84.1	5.9	1.6	5.9	
8. Yadav/Ahir	4.14	45.8	87.0	8.8	1.3	0.8	
9. Muslim	3.53	47.4	65.6	19.2	7.7	2.6	
10. Rai	2.84	63.9	89.9	5.6	1.5	1.2	
11. Gurung	2.43	58.4	85.6	6.1	3.5	2.0	
12. Damain	1.99	64.8	70.6	25.9	0.6	0.8	
13. Thakuri	1.62	62.4	87.8	6.8	2.3	0.7	
14. Limbu	1.61	60.1	91.1	5.2	1.3	0.8	
15. Sarki	1.49	67.8	89.5	6.3	0.5	1.4	
16. Teli	1.36	44.2	76.8	9.9	9.0	1.3	
17. Kushwaha	1.11	45.1	85.2	9.0	2.6	0.9	
18. Chamar	1.10	55.7	75.8	20.0	0.6	0.9	

Total 18 group 82.24 1 to 18

(Population at least 1 %)

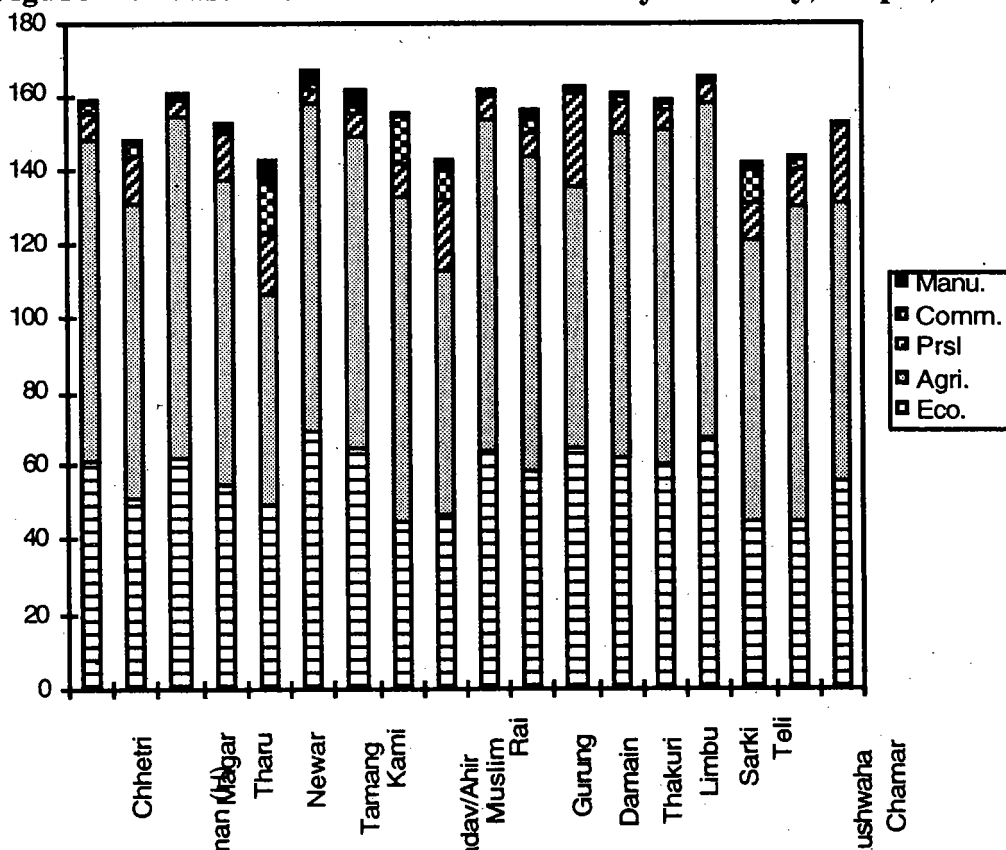
Source: CBS, 1993, Population Census 1991, Vol.I, Part VII, Table 25, Part IX, Table 29.

Rates of labour force participation may not be sufficient to gauge economic development, rather transition of labours from primary sector to secondary and tertiary activities is said to bring rapid changes in the economic progress. Compared to the past, there has been slow but gradual shift of labourers from agricultural to non-agricultural industries (CBS, 1995; p. 215).

In this context, it is better to examine structure of labour force, participation of caste/ethnic groups in major industries of production. Considering the active population in industry, the over all distribution recorded in 1991 display that 81 per cent of economically active persons were involved in agricultural industry. The second industry to absorb larger share of labours was personal and community services in which 10 per cent of active labours were engaged. Commerce and manufacturing hold third and fourth position and absorb 3.5 and 2 per cent labourers, respectively. In such a national scenario, one would not expect much deviation of any large caste/ethnic group from the national average. However, there could be a significant deviation for small ones.

Participation of each caste/ethnic group in major industry of production is computed in Annex 8. Review of figures computed for major groups show that the Limbus are the highest and the Newars are the lowest in agriculture (Table 7.1). Most of the Newars are involved in commercial activity and are residents of town and business centres (CBS, 1995; p.280). They are highly literate and educated people compared to many other groups.

Figure 7: Caste/Ethnic Labour Force by Industry, Nepal, 1991



Source : Table 7.1

Among the non-agricultural industry and community services absorbed the largest share, one tenth of the total labour force. This sector of industry seems to be most unorganized relative to other. A review of labour force data reveal that minor groups, such as the Kayasthas, Sikkhas, the Mushahars etc. have proportionately larger share, and major groups - the Chhetri, Brahman, Magar had small share in personal and community services. Similarly, small groups like Marwadi (68%), Baniya (33%), Halwai (30%) were in high proportion in commerce compared to major, the Newar (14%), the Telis (9%), the Musalims (8%). Other groups have less than 5 per cent share in commerce. In manufacturing, the Badis (13%), Bengalis (11%) have large proportion compared to proportion of major group the Kamis (6%). The largest groups, such as the Chhetris, the Brahmins are very few (about 1 per cent) in manufacturing industry. It is noted that participation of labours in other industries is negligible. Compared to today's industrial world, proportional participation of Nepalese labour force in secondary and tertiary sector is very poor, i.e. less than one fifth of total labour force. In non-agriculture, service sector is leading. Share of labour force participation of major groups in industry of production is presented in Figure 7.

8. Occupation

Occupation of a person is defined as type of actual work the person was usually doing during the reference period. To understand occupational affiliation of labour force in national economy, data on occupational structure has been examined for each caste/ethnic group. In the framework of census reporting, persons engaged in agricultural industry were almost all found affiliated to farm/fish related occupation. As indicated above, over four fifths of the Nepalese labour force were engaged in agricultural industry also reflecting a similar proportion in agriculture related occupation, i.e. Farm/Fish Work. Among the seven major divisions of occupation, labour force engaged in any other occupation was under ten per cent; viz. service worker 6.2 per cent, production labours 4.2 per cent, Sales worker 3 per cent, and professional/technical worker 1.8 per cent. In occupational classification, the lowest proportion (0.3%) of labour force was in administrative work. Hence, these figures show a wide gap in division of labours in agricultural and non-agricultural occupation (Table 8.1).

In this analysis, an attempt is made to elucidate participation of major caste/ethnic groups in various occupations in two ways, first-proportional participation of each group in major occupation (Table 8.1) and second in each occupation a share of labour force from each major caste/ethnic group (Table 8.2). As one proceeds to diagnose occupational structure of various caste/ethnic groups, the composition scenario reflects adherence of some

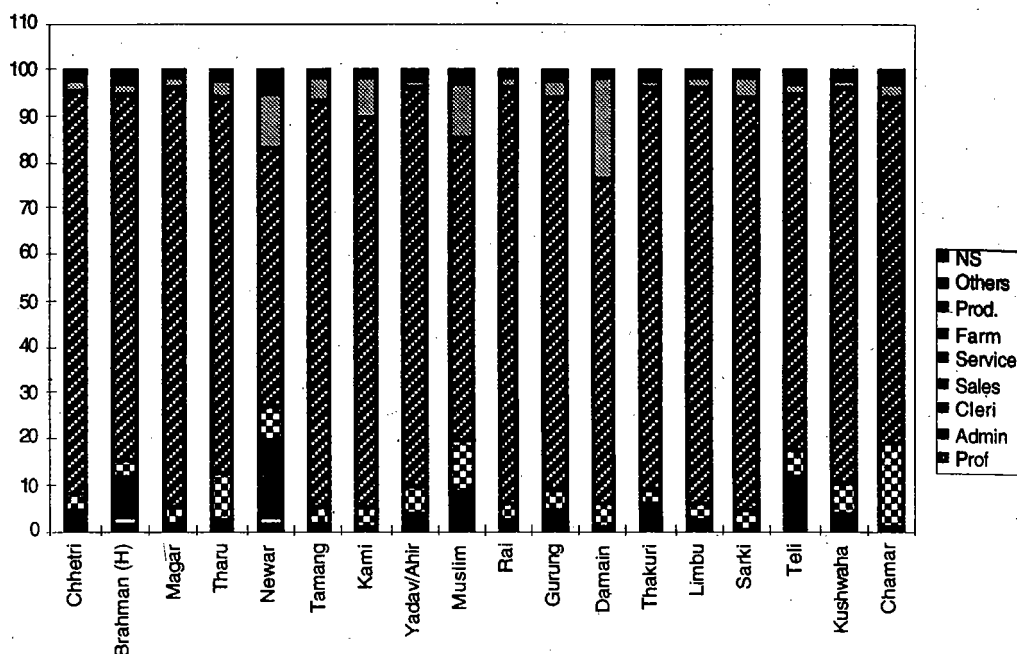
groups with the conventional division of work. For example - proportion of Newar is relatively small in farm/fish work. It is true that Nepalese economy is still in infancy which is reflected by 56.7 to 91 per cent of major groups were engaged in farm/fish work. The labour force is, however, gradually reverting to non-farm occupation as the level of education is improving and avenue for non-farm activities have been opening in the country.

Regarding participation of labourers of each caste/ethnic group in various occupation it is noticed that 12 out of 18 major groups were pursuing farm/fish work and each of their percentage was above the national average of 81 per cent, six groups fall below the national average (Table 8.1).

Table 8.1: Economically Active Population 10 years and above by Major Caste/ethnic group, Major Occupation Groups, 1991.

MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUPS											
Caste/ Ethnic Group	Populn. All Ages in %	Ethnic Popul- ation	Prof/ Techni Worker	Admini- strativ Worker	Cleri- cal Worker	Sales Worker	Servic Worker	Farm\ Fish Worker	Produ- ction Labours	Others	Not Stated
All Groups	100.00	100.00	1.78	0.30	1.06	2.98	6.18	81.10	4.23	2.09	0.28
1. Chhetri	16.05	100.00	1.68	0.27	1.18	1.84	3.93	87.01	1.86	1.98	0.24
2. Brahman H	12.92	100.00	5.12	0.79	2.90	3.02	4.04	79.55	1.80	2.50	0.27
3. Magar	7.24	100.00	0.70	0.07	0.32	0.92	3.36	90.98	2.20	1.25	0.19
4. Tharu	6.46	100.00	0.92	0.05	0.37	1.15	10.17	82.27	2.79	1.92	0.36
5. Newar	5.63	100.00	3.40	1.36	3.55	12.20	6.72	56.69	11.20	4.47	0.41
6. Tamang	5.51	100.00	0.39	0.08	0.20	1.24	3.60	88.32	4.67	1.26	0.23
7. Kami	5.21	100.00	0.22	0.03	0.11	0.90	4.22	84.03	8.82	1.40	0.27
8. Yadav/Ahir	4.14	100.00	2.11	0.12	0.71	1.28	5.72	86.90	1.35	1.52	0.29
9. Muslim	3.53	100.00	1.14	0.16	0.34	7.54	11.15	65.43	11.52	2.38	0.33
10. Rai	2.84	100.00	1.13	0.13	0.41	1.16	3.63	89.80	2.14	1.40	0.19
11. Gurung	2.43	100.00	1.32	0.21	0.57	2.59	4.44	85.46	3.44	1.78	0.20
12. Damain	1.99	100.00	0.18	0.03	0.09	0.44	4.88	70.46	21.91	1.65	0.37
13. Thakuri	1.62	100.00	2.23	0.38	1.33	1.89	3.23	87.68	1.45	1.50	0.30
14. Limbu	1.61	100.00	1.08	0.11	0.40	1.12	3.09	91.01	1.73	1.24	0.23
15. Sakri	1.49	100.00	0.14	0.03	0.07	0.49	4.19	89.41	4.07	1.38	0.21
16. Teli	1.36	100.00	2.30	0.20	0.83	8.80	6.18	76.68	2.68	1.99	0.34
17. Kushwaha	1.11	100.00	1.46	0.09	0.46	2.51	6.67	85.07	1.96	1.56	0.21
18. Chamar	1.10	100.00	0.21	0.01	0.09	0.58	18.32	75.66	2.62	2.20	0.30

Source : CBS, 1993.

Figure 8: Caste/Ethnic Labours by Occupation, Nepal, 1991

Source: Table 8.1

To look at labour force composition of Nepal in each occupation category and from the ethnic point of view, the share of 18 major groups are worth mentioning. In the Farm/fish work occupation where over four fifths of the total labour force were absorbed, the share composition of caste/ethnic labourers are found similar to composition in total population with few exceptions of interchange with neighboring group in population share. For rest of the occupation groups, the composition is, however, different. For example, for professional/technical work, administrative work and clerical work, which demand education and skills, the proportion of the hill Brahmins was the highest and about one third share in total labour force of each occupation, proportion of the Brahman was followed by the Chhetris and the Newars alternately. In Sales work, the Newars led all other groups; they were about one fifth of the total. Also in production labourers, share of the Newars is found highest, which is followed by the share of the Kamis and the Damais. Among the major groups, the Chamars and the Kushwahas contributed the least in all occupations except in service work where the Limbus were the least to participate (Table 8.2).

Table 8.2: Economically Active Population 10 years and above by Caste/ethnic group and Major Occupation, 1991

Major Caste/Ethnic Groups and Major Occupation																
Caste/ Ethnic Groups	Total Popn. All Caste/ Ethnic Groups	10 yrs Above	Caste/ Ethnic Groups	Prof/Te chnical Worker	Caste/ Ethnic Groups	Admin- istrat ive	Caste/ Ethnic W.	Cleri- cal Groups	Caste/ Ethnic Worker	Sales Work- Groups	Caste/ Ethnic er.	Servic Work- Groups	Caste/ Ethnic er.	Farm/ Fish Groups	Caste/ Ethnic Worker	Production Labourers Groups
All Groups	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Chhetri	16.05	17.43	34.79	34.79	32.06	32.06	32.06	33.23	Newar	21.76	Chhetri	11.07	Chhetri	18.70	Newar	14.05
Brahman	12.92	12.11	16.45	16.45	24.22	24.22	24.22	19.45	Brahma,	12.30	Tharu	9.96	Brahman	11.88	Kami	11.99
Magar	7.24	7.98	10.14	10.14	15.93	15.93	15.93	17.80	Chhetri	10.80	Brahman	7.91	Magar	8.95	Damain	11.48
Tharu	6.46	6.67	3.94	3.94	2.27	2.27	2.27	2.38	Muslim	7.11	Newar	5.77	Tamang	7.26	Chhetri	7.67
Newar	5.63	6.06	3.14	3.14	1.98	1.98	1.98	2.26	Teli	3.11	Muslim	5.06	Tharu	Muslim	7.65	
Tamang	5.51	5.75	3.13	3.13	1.83	1.83	1.83	2.21	Tamang	2.78	Magar	4.34	Kami	5.96	Tamang	7.36
Kami	5.21	5.31	2.25	2.25	1.80	1.80	1.80	2.14	Magar	2.48	Kami	3.92	Newar	3.71	Brahman	5.15
Yadav/Ah	4.14	3.32	2.05	2.05	1.49	1.49	1.49	1.40	Tharu	2.34	Tamang	3.88	Rai	3.58	Magar	4.16
Muslim	3.53	3.23	1.94	1.94	1.38	1.38	1.38	1.27	Gurung	2.27	Chamar	3.15	Yadav/A	3.56	Tharu	3.99
Rai	2.84	2.81	1.80	1.80	1.37	1.37	1.37	1.27	Kami	1.74	Yadav/A	3.07	Gurung	2.75	Gurung	2.13
Gurung	2.43	2.61	1.48	1.48	0.93	0.93	0.93	0.91	Yadav/A	1.43	Rai	1.89	Muslim	2.26	Sakri	1.68
Damain	1.99	2.22	1.36	1.36	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.83	Rai	1.26	Gurung	1.87	Thakuri	1.94	Rai	1.64
Thakuri	1.62	1.79	1.05	1.05	0.61	0.61	0.61	0.65	Thakuri	1.14	Damain	1.75	Limbu	1.94	Yadav/A	1.06
Limbu	1.61	1.74	0.71	0.71	0.61	0.61	0.61	0.59	Kushwah	0.73	Sakri	1.18	Damain	1.93	Limbu	0.70
Sakri	1.49	1.72	0.70	0.70	0.27	0.27	0.27	0.38	Limbu	0.65	Teli	1.05	Sakri	1.92	Teli	0.67
Teli	1.36	1.06	0.22	0.22	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.18	Damain	0.33	Thakuri	0.94	Teli	1.00	Chamar	0.66
Kushwaha	1.11	1.05	0.14	0.14	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.12	Sakri	0.29	Kushwah	0.86	Chamar	0.99	Thakuri	0.62
Chamar	1.10	0.87	0.12	0.12	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.09	Chamar	0.21	Limbu	0.86	Kushwah	0.91	Kushwah	0.40
Total	82.24	85.42	87.15	87.15	72.72	72.72	72.72	83.05								

Source : CBS, 1993.

Source : CBS, 1993.

Conclusion

This study makes an attempt to assess the size and distribution of various caste/ethnic and groups at the regional and district level. The composition of regional and district population in terms of caste/ethnic groups, their sex composition is examined. Some of the groups are found numerically very small and sex composition unexpectedly unbalanced.

Population of Nepal is categorised in 60 caste/ethnic groups, among them the Chhetris are the largest groups and the Churautes are the smallest. Eighteen groups have at least one per cent share in the total population. These eighteen groups aggregated to 82.2 per cent of the total population, remaining 42 groups had less than one per cent share. In terms of population size of three geographic regions, the Chhetris have overwhelming majority in the Hill and Mountain. The Tharus had in the Tarai.

Sex ratio of caste/ethnic groups varied widely ranging from 153.5 for Lepchas to 35.6 for the Rautes population. Both groups have little share in the total population. Among the major ones, the Tarai groups have higher sex ratio, compared to those of the Hill and Mountain groups. Sex ratio of population also varies largely in 75 districts. The highest ratio is for the population of Mustang and the lowest for Gulmi. With few exceptions, sex ratio is high in the districts of the Tarai and low for population in the districts of Hill region.

Census definition of caste/ethnic groups, origin, destination and classification of the groups may not be very precise, the analysis qualifies migration of caste/ethnic groups across the regions over time. According to classification, over two thirds of population of Nepal originated from the Hill, little less than one third were from the Tarai. Share of population who originated from the mountain is less than one per cent. Regarding movement, one forth of caste/ethnic people of Nepal are residing in a region other than the region of their origin. The people who moved across the region over 95 per cent were from the hill and their destination was absolutely in the Tarai.

In terms of literacy, there is a remarkable gap among groups. Reported literacy rate is highest among the Marwadis (88.4 %) and lowest (4.8 %) among the Mushahars. However, both of these groups are minor in terms of population size. Among the major groups the hill Brahmans and the Newars are at the top of the list both in literacy and educational attainment.

In labour force participation, 56.6 per cent are economically active at the national level. The period of being active ranged from a minimum of less than 3 months to 12 months. Among the groups the Chepangs are reported most active (79 %) and the Tarai Brahmans the least (36 %). In totality, the economically active per cent for 36 groups is above and for 24 groups it is below the national average.

As over four fifths of active population is absorbed in agricultural industry similar proportion is in agriculture related occupation. Regarding occupation, high proportion of two thirds (12 out of 18) of major groups have farm/fish related occupation and the percentage of each is above the national average of 81 per cent. Six groups have percentage below the national average. In non-farm/fish occupation, such as professional and technical work, administrative work and clerical work there is prevalence of the Brahmans (Hill), the Chhetris and the Newars.

However, the analysis is descriptive, these findings are expected to be useful for wide range of users, such as population planners and policy makers, demographers, administrators, sociologists and researchers. For social and economic development of population, planning, policy and programs should be formulated by taking into account of the wide variety of Caste/Ethnic groups of people so that their participation in national development and equitable share of achievement are ensured.

Notes

1. Sex Ratio = $\frac{\text{Number of Males}}{\text{Number of Females}} \times 100$
2. In the census list 'Badi' is termed as 'Wadi', unintentional error occurred while translating from Nepali into English.
3. CBS, 1993, Vol. I, Part I, Table 3.

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ANNEX 1

Population by Caste/ethnic groups and the Percentage Share in Total Population, 1991

Caste/ Ethnic Groups	Population in %								
All Groups	100.00								
Chhetri	16.05	Thakuri	1.62	Mallah	0.60	Kayastha	0.29	Shikha	0.05
Brahman H	12.92	Limbu	1.61	Sherpa	0.60	Danuwar	0.27	Bangali	0.04
Magar	7.24	Sarki	1.49	Baniya	0.55	Haluwai	0.24	Wadi	0.04
Tharu	6.46	Teli	1.36	Kewat	0.55	Sunuwar	0.22	Bote	0.04
Newar	5.63	Kushwaha	1.11	Dushadh	0.50	Chepeng	0.20	Jirel	0.03
Tamang	5.51	Chamar	1.10	Rajbanshi	0.44	Rajbhar	0.18	Not Stated	0.03
Kami	5.21	Others H.	1.00	Kumal	0.41	Marwadi	0.16	Lepcha	0.03
Yadav/Ahir	4.14	Sanyashi	0.98	Dhobi	0.41	Gangain	0.12	Gaine	0.02
Muslim	3.53	Kumi	0.90	Kumhar	0.39	Thami	0.10	Raji	0.02
Others T.	3.39	Brahman T.	0.88	Kanu	0.38	Dhimal	0.09	No. Caste	0.02
Rai	2.84	Sudhi/Kalwa	0.88	Khatway	0.36	Thakali	0.07	Raute	0.02
Gurung	2.43	Mushahar	0.77	Rajput	0.30	Bhote	0.07	Churaute	0.01
Damain	1.99	Dhanukh	0.74	Majhi	0.30	Darai	0.06	Others M.	0.01

Source: CBS 1993, Population Census 1991, Vol. I, Part VII, Table 25.

ANNEX 2

Population by Caste/ethnic group and sex ratio, 1991

Caste/ Ethnic Group	Sex Ratio	Ethnic Group	Sex Ratio	Ethnic Group	Sex Ratio	Ethnic Group	Sex Ratio	Ethnic Group	Sex Ratio
All Groups	99.47								
Lepcha	153.47	Kumi	109.11	Gangain	105.38	Newar	99.45	Limbu	95.55
No. Caste	129.47	Dhanukh	108.26	Kumhar	105.29	Sherpa	99.04	Shikha	95.21
Not State	116.68	Churaute	108.20	Rajbhar	105.22	Sunuwar	98.11	Gaine	94.79
Marwadi	116.37	Kushwaha	107.50	Khatway	105.14	Majhi	97.82	Sarki	94.54
Rajput	112.66	Raji	107.48	Chamar	104.19	Sanyashi	97.73	Bhote	94.19
Brahman T	111.27	Dhobi	106.89	Bote	103.58	Brahman H	97.73	Jirel	94.16
Yadav/Ahi	111.20	Others T.	106.81	Dhimal	103.16	Thami	97.18	Magar	94.13
Bangali	111.13	Mallah	106.77	Mushahar	101.64	Rai	97.11	Damain	94.12
Baniya	110.95	Others M.	106.77	Kayastha	101.43	Thakuri	96.14	Thakali	93.69
Sudhi/Kal	110.93	Muslim	106.20	Tharu	101.15	Kumal	96.12	Danuwar	93.01
Kanu	109.94	Dushadh	105.79	Rajbanshi	100.48	Kami	96.02	Gurung	92.40
Teli	109.94	Kewat	105.50	Tamang	100.09	Others H	96.00	Wadi	92.08
Haluwai	109.57	Chepeng	105.49	Darai	99.91	Chhetri	95.56	Raute	35.56

Source : CBS 1993, Population Census 1991, Vol. I, Part VII, Table 25.

ANNEX 3

Population by Caste/ethnic groups and the Percentage Share in Total Population, 1991.

Caste/Eth.		(Mountain Population = 100)							
Groups	% Share	Groups	% share	Groups	% share	Groups	% share	Groups	% share
Chhetri	33.31	Magar	1.55	Tharu	0.08	Muslim	0.01	Rajput	0.00
Tamang	11.49	Sanyashi	1.52	Others T.	0.06	Chepeng	0.01	Darai	0.00
Brahman H	11.37	Thami	1.00	Baniya	0.05	Teli	0.01	Khatway	0.00
Kami	6.41	Bhote	0.45	Others M.	0.05	Raji	0.01	Dushadh	0.00
Rai	4.79	Majhi	0.34	Sudhi/Kalwa	0.04	Kushwaha	0.01	Rajbanshi	0.00
Thakuri	4.43	Jirel	0.30	Dhobi	0.03	Gaine	0.01	Kanu	0.00
Sherpa	4.40	Sunuwar	0.26	Brahman T.	0.03	Mushahar	0.01	Dhimai	0.00
Newar	4.29	Thakali	0.21	Kurmi	0.02	Rajbhar	0.01	Bangali	0.00
Limbu	3.88	Danuwar	0.17	No. Caste	0.02	Chamar	0.01	Marwadi	0.00
Gurung	2.86	Kumal	0.11	Lepcha	0.02	Shikha	0.01	Mallah	0.00
Damain	2.41	Kumhar	0.11	Not Stated	0.02	Dhanukh	0.01	Gangain	0.00
Sakri	1.87	Kayastha	0.08	Wadi	0.02	Bote	0.01	Haluwai	0.00
Others H.	1.73	Yadav/Ahi	0.08	Raute	0.02	Kewat	0.01	Churaute	0.00

Caste/(Hill-Population = 100)

Ethnic

Groups	% Share	Groups	% share	Groups	% share	Groups	% share	Groups	% share
Chhetri	21.79	Sanyashi	1.15	Thakali	0.10	Gaine	0.03	Others M.	0.01
Brahman H	16.88	Sherpa	0.50	Kayastha	0.08	Not State	0.03	Kewat	0.01
Magar	11.99	Kumal	0.50	Marwadi	0.07	Kurmi	0.03	Rajbhar	0.01
Newar	9.78	Tharu	0.37	Bhote	0.06	No. Caste	0.03	Shikha	0.01
Tamang	8.31	Sunuwar	0.37	Brahman T.	0.06	Raute	0.02	Bangali	0.01
Kami	6.94	Majhi	0.30	Dhobi	0.06	Rajput	0.02	Dhimai	0.00
Rai	4.19	Danuwar	0.28	Sudhi/Kalwar	0.05	Bote	0.02	Dushadh	0.00
Gurung	3.93	Muslim	0.25	Darai	0.05	Raji	0.02	Khatway	0.00
Damain	2.81	Chepeng	0.25	Thami	0.05	Churaute	0.01	Kanu	0.00
Sarki	2.39	Others T.	0.13	Wadi	0.05	Dhanukh	0.01	Mallah	0.00
Thakuri	2.08	Yadav/Ahir	0.12	Lepcha	0.04	Chamar	0.01	Rajbanshi	0.00
Limbu	1.91	Kumhar	0.12	Mushahar	0.04	Kushwaha	0.01	Jirel	0.00
Others H.	1.48	Baniya	0.11	Teli	0.03	Haluwai	0.01	Gangain	0.00

Caste/(Tarai Population = 100)

Ethnic Gr.	% Share	Groups	% share	Groups	% share	Groups	% share	Groups	% share
Tharu	13.47	Brahman T	1.82	Gurung	0.89	Rajbhar	0.38	Wadi	0.03
Brahman H	9.30	Newar	1.81	Dhobi	0.83	Danuwar	0.29	Thakali	0.03
Yadav/Ahi	8.74	Tamang	1.77	Kanu	0.81	Majhi	0.29	Not State	0.02
Chhetri	7.57	Mushahar	1.60	Khatway	0.77	Marwadi	0.27	Gaine	0.02
Muslim	7.32	Dhanukh	1.57	Sanyashi	0.73	Gangain	0.26	Raji	0.01
Others T.	7.14	Mallah	1.28	Thakuri	0.70	Dhimai	0.19	Thami	0.01
Magar	3.56	Rai	1.20	Kumhar	0.70	Chepeng	0.18	Lepcha	0.01
Kami	3.32	Kewat	1.17	Rajput	0.62	Shikha	0.10	Bhote	0.01
Teli	2.87	Damain	1.12	Sarki	0.56	Bangali	0.09	Raute	0.01
Kushwaha	2.37	Dushadh	1.08	Kayastha	0.53	Darai	0.08	Churaute	0.01
Chamar	2.35	Baniya	1.07	Haluwai	0.50	Sunuwar	0.07	Jirel	0.00
Kurmi	1.90	Rajbanshi	0.95	Others H.	0.40	Sherpa	0.06	No. Caste	0.00
Sudhi/Kal	1.82	Limbu	0.93	Kumal	0.39	Bote	0.05	Others M.	0.00

Source: CBS 1995, Population Census 1991, Vol. IV, Table 14.

ANNEX 4:

**Population by Major Caste/Ethnic Composition
(first three groups) and Percentage Share for dev. regions
and districts, 1991**

POSITION					POSITION				
Area	Total popul	First	Second	Third	Area	Total popu	First	Second	Third
Nepal	(18,491,097)	Chhetri	Brahman h	Magar	Western	3,770,678	Brahman h	Magar	Chhetri
%	100.00	16.05	12.92	7.24	Dev. Regn	100.00	20.73	16.54	11.21
Eastern Dev	4,446,749	Chhetri	Brahman h	Rai	Gorkha	252,524	Gurung	Brahman h	Chhetri
Region	100.00	12.17	11.11	10.88	100.00	21.33	20.03	11.97	
					Lamjung	153,697	Gurung	Brahman h	Chhetri
Taplejung	120,053	Limbu	Brahman h	Chhetri		100.00	33.57	16.19	16.03
%	100.00	40.88	13.25	11.37	Tanahun	268,073	Magar	Brahman h	Gurung
Panchathar	175,206	Limbu	Brahman h	Rai		100.00	26.04	14.22	12.95
%	100.00	39.40	14.29	13.71	Syangja	293,526	Brahman h	Magar	Chhetri
Ilam	229,214	Rai	Brahman h	Limbu		100.00	33.51	20.33	11.75
	100.00	24.57	15.97	13.51	Kaski	292,945	Brahman h	Gurung	Chhetri
Jhapa	593,737	Brahman h	Chhetri	Limbu		100.00	30.98	19.03	14.73
	100.00	25.26	15.40	6.47	Manang	5,363	Gurung	Sherpa	Brahman h
Morang	674,823	Brahman h	Chhetri	Tharu		100.00	65.15	12.85	4.96
	100.00	13.90	11.24	8.95	Mustang	14,292	Gurung	Thakali	Kami
Sunsari	463,481	Tharu	Muslim	Brahman h		100.00	54.02	19.66	5.18
	100.00	16.20	9.87	8.46	Myagdi	100,552	Magar	Chhetri	Kami
Dhankutta	146,386	Rai	Chhetri	Limbu		100.00	43.53	16.91	12.60
	100.00	23.48	20.19	14.36	Parbat	143,547	Brahman h	Chhetri	Magar
Terhathum	102,870	Limbu	Chhetri	Brahman h		100.00	38.93	16.20	10.67
	100.00	34.66	19.64	18.17	Baglung	232,486	Magar	Brahman h	Chhetri
Sankhuwasabha	141,903	Rai	Chhetri	Tamang		100.00	28.22	23.51	18.51
	100.00	23.68	19.66	8.44	Gulmi	266,331	Brahman h	Chhetri	Magar
Bhojpur	198,784	Rai	Chhetri	Brahman h		100.00	30.41	22.38	19.83
	100.00	33.14	20.95	9.53	Palpa	236,313	Magar	Brahman h	Chhetri
Solukhumbu	97,200	Rai	Sherpa	Chhetri		100.00	49.38	20.27	8.53
	100.00	30.47	20.82	15.69	Nawalpa-	436,217	Tharu	Magar	Brahman h
Okhaldhunga	139,457	Chhetri	Brahmanh	Rai	rasi	100.00	16.85	16.61	16.04
	100.00	24.91	13.66	11.96	Rupandehi	522,150	Brahmanh	Tharu	Muslim
Khotang	215,965	Rai	Chhetri	Brahmanh		100.00	12.40	10.69	8.20
	100.00	38.77	22.30	10.08	Kapilwast	371,778	Muslim	Tharu	Yadav/Ahir
Udayapur	221,256	Chhetri	Rai	Magar		100.00	16.81	11.76	9.83
	100.00	21.01	17.09	14.40	Arghakh-	180,884	Brahmanh	Chhetri	Magar
Saptari	465,668	Yadav,Ahir	Tharu	Telichi		100.00	38.91	17.90	16.01
	100.00	16.91	13.24	7.63					
Siraha	460,746	Yadav,Ahir	Muslim	Musahar	Mid-Wes.	2,410,414	Chhetri	Magar	Tharu
	100.00	26.20	6.97	5.68	Dev. Regn	100.00	28.57	14.09	13.11
Central Dev.	6,183,955	Tamang	Newar	Brahmanh	Pyuthan	175,469	Magar	Chhetri	Brahmanh
Region	100.00	13.17	11.98	11.07		100.00	29.70	26.76	12.69
					Rolpa	179,621	Magar	Chhetri	Kami
Dhanusha	543,672	Yadav,Ahir	Muslim	Kewat		100.00	44.45	32.25	12.19
	100.00	20.87	7.58	6.10	Rukum	155,554	Chhetri	Magar	Kami
Mahottari	440,146	Yadav,Ahir	Muslim	Brahmanh		100.00	39.64	25.45	14.86
	100.00	16.99	12.23	7.68	Salyan	181,785	Chhetri	Magar	Kami

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Sarlahi	492,798	Yadav,Ahir	Kushwah	Muslim		100.00	52.26	15.53 11.34
	100.00	16.11	7.30	6.64	Dang	354,413	Tharu	Chhetri Magar
Sarlahi	492,798	Yadav,Ahir	Kushwah	Muslim		100.00	31.48	23.17 11.02
	100.00	16.11	7.30	6.64	Banke	285,604	Muslim	TharuChhetri
Sindhuli	223,900	Tamang	Chhetri	Magar		100.00	16.03	15.95 10.92
	100.00	23.41	14.56	14.21	Bardia	290,313	Tharu	ChhetriBrahmanh
Ramechhap	188,064	Chhetri	Tamang	Newar		100.00	52.81	9.74 9.44
	100.00	26.49	20.66	13	Surkhet	225,768	Chhetri	Magar Kami
Dolakha		173,236	Chhetri	Tamang	Brahmanh	100.00	28.05	20.41 18.68
	100.00	34.18	15.95	11.4	Dailekh	187,400	Chhetri	KamiBrahmanh
Sindhupalchok	261,025	Tamang	Chhetri	Brahmanh		100.00	35.09	17.10 12.52
	100.00	32.94	18.80	11.87	Jajarkot	113,958	Chhetri	KamiThakuri
Kabhre	324,329	Tamang	Brahmanh	Newar		100.00	37.45	21.93 16.65
	100.00	32.85	23.54	14.37	Dolpa	25,013	Chhetri	Gurung Magar
Lalitpur	257,086	Newar	Chhetri	Tamang		100.00	44.95	19.58 12.17
	100.00	46.07	19.47	11.22	Jumla	75,964	Chhetri	Brahmanh Kami
Bhaktapur	172,952	Newar	Chhetri	Brahmanh		100.00	59.59	12.39 7.22
	100.00	62.82	18.27	8.82	Kalikot	88,805	Chhetri	ThakuriBrahmanh
Kathmandu	675,341	Newar	Brahmanh	Chhetri		100.00	28.41	24.66 19.66
	100.00	38.24	19.36	17.78	Mugu	36,364	Chhetri	Thakuri Kami
Nuwakot	245,260	Tamang	Brahmanh	Chhetri		100.00	47.43	15.93 11.25
	100.00	37.94	21.71	13.81	Humla	34,383	Chhetri	ThakuriSherpa
Rasuwa	36,744	Tamang	Brahmanh	Gurung		100.00	43.03	18.77 8.45
	100.00	65.07	16.79	5.61				
Dhading	278,068	Tamang	Brahmanh	Chhetri	Far-West-	1,679,301	Chhetri	TharuBrahmanh
	100.00	21.51	18.67	14.94	Dev. Region	100.00	39.89	16.56 13.27
Makawanpur	314,599	Tamang	Brahmanh	Chhetri				
	100.00	45.96	14.38	10.63	Bajura	92,010	Chhetri	KamiBrahmanh
Rautahat	414,005	Muslim	Yadav,Ah	Teli		100.00	55.53	12.84 7.51
	100.00	17.24	13.32	5.93	Bajhang	139,092	Chhetri	Brahmanh Kami
Bara		415,718	Tharu	Muslim	Yadav,Ahir	100.00	63.21	10.98 8.37
	100.00	11.88	11.70	10.89	Achham	198,188	Chhetri	KamiBrahmanh
Parsa	372,524	Muslim	Tharu	Kurmi		100.00	51.51	19.17 11.45
	100.00	12.26	8.78	8.55	Doti	167,168	Chhetri	KamiBrahmanh
Chitwan	354,488	Brahmanh	Tharu	Chhetri		100.00	51.90	11.32 10.80
	100.00	29.53	12.80	10.47	Kailali	417,891	Tharu	ChhetriBrahmanh
						100.00	49.52	14.48 9.58
					Kanchanpr	257,906	Chhetri	TharuBrahmanh
						100.00	28.31	27.35 14.92
					Dadeldhu-	104,647	Chhetri	Brahmanh Kami
					ra	100.00	49.81	19.08 6.68
					Baitadi	200,716	Chhetri	Brahmanh Kami
						100.00	47.48	20.79 12.46
					Darchula	101,683	Chhetri	Brahmanh Kami
						100.00	60.04	19.36 7.38

Source: CBS 1993, Population Census 1991, Vol. I, Part VII, Table 25.

Figures in parenthesis are total number

ANNEX 5

Population 6 years and above by Caste/ethnic group and
Literacy Rate, 1991

Caste/ Ethnic Group	Lit. Rate	Caste/ Ethnic Group	Lit. Rate	Caste/ Ethnic Group	Lit. Rate	Caste/ Ethnic Group	Lit. Rate	Caste/ Ethnic Group	Lit. Rate
Both Sexes	39.6								
Marwadi	88.44	Gurung	47.43	Darai	37.34	Tamang	28.68	Muslim	22.99
No. Caste	67.08	Baniya	47.39	Teli	37.02	Tharu	28.32	Kewat	22.86
Kayastha	64.97	Chhetri	45.77	Sherpa	36.74	Yadav/Ahi	27.07	Others T.	22.48
Thakali	62.63	Rai	45.31	Gangain	36.16	Kami	26.88	Raji	22.15
Brahman T	62.41	Sudhi/Kal	45.25	Jirel	35.00	Raute	26.54	Bote	22.09
Brahman H	62.15	Sanyashi	45.16	Others H.	34.61	Shikha	26.37	Dhobi	21.53
Newar	61.00	Lepcha	43.46	Bhote	32.06	Kurmi	26.06	Wadi	21.52
Rajput	52.34	Others M.	42.82	Gaine	31.33	Danuwar	25.45	Chepeng	14.61
Bangali	51.50	Haluwai	41.69	Kumal	30.68	Rajbhar	25.13	Mallah	12.78
Churaute	48.70	Magar	40.13	Kanu	30.38	Sarki	25.10	Khatway	12.40
Not State	48.36	Dhimai	39.95	Kushwaha	29.06	Thami	24.68	Chamar	10.80
Limbu	47.54	Sunuwar	38.42	Damain	28.90	Dhanukh	23.60	Dushadh	10.73
Thakuri	47.47	Rajbanshi	38.05	Kumhar	28.69	Majhi	23.24	Mushahar	4.85

Source: CBS 1993, Population Census 1991, Vol. I, Part VII, Table 26.

ANNEX 6

Population 6 Years and above by percentage in Primary Level
of Education Passed, 1991

Caste/ Ethnic	% level	Gr. pass in Primary Education							
Both Sexe	16.15								
Brahman H	21.69	Baniya	18.49	Kayastha	16.13	Tharu	12.32	Shikha	9.70
Churaute	21.61	Others M.	18.47	Haluwai	16.10	Kanu	12.27	Rajbhar	9.53
Lepcha	21.44	Brahman T	18.37	Gaine	15.72	Kushwaha	11.78	Others T.	9.29
Thakali	20.40	Marwadi	18.25	Kumal	15.34	Majhi	11.74	Muslim	9.15
Limbu	20.37	Darai	17.69	Damain	15.18	Raute	11.50	Kewat	9.13
Gurung	19.75	Sunuwar	17.28	Jirel	14.94	Bote	11.32	Dhanukh	9.05
Rai	19.64	Bangali	17.11	Bhote	14.82	Kumhar	11.30	Dhobi	8.91
Newar	19.57	Rajbanshi	17.11	No. Caste	14.44	Kurmi	11.20	Chepeng	6.77
Thakuri	19.46	Sudhi/Kal	16.60	Teli	14.19	Raji	10.98	Mallah	5.47
Sanyashi	19.41	Sherpa	16.57	Kami	13.74	Thami	10.62	Khatway	5.43
Chhetri	19.35	Gangain	16.57	Tamang	13.43	Danuwar	10.53	Chamar	4.79
Dhimai	19.07	Rajput	16.47	Not State	13.26	Wadi	10.11	Dushadh	4.20
Magar	18.93	Others H.	16.15	Sarki	12.65	Yadav/Ahi	10.09	Mushahar	1.44

Source: CBS 1993, Population Census 1991, Vol. I, Part VII, Table 26.

ANNEX 7

Population 10 Years and Above Caste/ethnic group and Per cent economically active, 1991

Caste/ Ethnic Groups	Active %	Caste/ Ethnic Groups	Active %	Caste/ Ethnic Groups	Active %	Caste/ Ethnic Groups	Active %	Caste/ Ethnic Groups	Active %
Total	(All Groups)	56.57							
Chepang	78.89	Raji	64.05	Churaute	58.23	Others T.	51.92	Kurmi	46.28
Thami	77.93	Others M.	64.03	Sanyashi	58.02	Brahman Hil	51.50	Yadav/Ahir	45.80
Bhote	69.90	Rai	63.89	Dhimai	56.42	Gaine	50.84	Dhanukh	45.68
Sherpa	69.65	Sunuwar	63.77	Danuwar	56.30	Rajbanshi	50.09	Kushwaha	45.11
Tamang	69.11	Magar	62.91	Chamar	55.69	Newar	49.74	Baniya	44.34
Jirel	68.91	Majhi	62.80	Not State	55.51	Mallah	49.66	Teli	44.16
Sarki	67.82	Kumal	62.71	Khatway	55.16	Dhobi	49.41	Haluwai	43.87
Lepcha	66.71	Darai	62.40	Tharu	54.77	Kumhar	49.21	Kanu	42.31
Others H.	66.10	Thakuri	62.14	Shikha	54.44	Kewat	48.20	Sudhi/Kalwar	40.53
Mushahar	65.53	Chhetri	61.09	Wadi	53.91	Rajbhar	47.89	Rajput	40.11
Bote	65.15	Limbu	60.16	No. Caste	53.56	Gangain	47.87	Kayastha	39.19
Kami	64.88	Raute	59.26	Dushadh	53.37	Muslim	47.44	Marwadi	38.53
Damain	64.83	Gurung	58.43	Thakali	52.34	Bangali	46.82	Brahman T.	35.73

Source: CBS 1993, Population Census 1991, Vol. I, Part VIII, Table 27.

ANNEX 8

Economically Active Population 10 years and above by
Caste/ethnic group, Major
Industry Division, 1991.

MAJOR INDUSTRY DIVISION

Caste/ Ethnic groups	Popln. 10 yrs +	Agric. Forestry Fishing	Mining+ Quiring ing	Manuf- Quiring ing	Elect- actur- Water	Const- Gas on	Transp ructi- rice	Finance Comme- nicatio	Personl & Commu- Service	Busines Service	Community Others	Not Stated
All Groups	100.00	81.23	0.03	2.04	0.16	0.49	3.49	0.69	0.28	10.25	0.38	0.96
Yadav/Ahir	100.00	87.03	0.01	0.77	0.08	0.19	1.35	0.41	0.12	8.78	0.32	0.94
Kayastha	100.00	51.14	0.07	3.25	0.46	0.45	6.70	1.24	1.11	31.48	0.93	3.17
Kumhar	100.00	75.69	0.06	7.20	0.13	0.44	2.85	0.54	0.20	10.98	0.40	1.50
Baniya	100.00	48.90	0.11	2.50	0.10	0.30	33.49	0.98	0.20	11.16	0.30	1.96
Dhobi	100.00	76.60	0.01	1.12	0.10	0.40	2.15	0.58	0.11	17.05	0.58	1.31
Sudhi/Kalw	100.00	60.56	0.06	2.34	0.17	0.36	20.34	0.81	0.26	12.34	0.71	2.03
Kurmi	100.00	78.92	0.02	1.94	0.10	0.74	2.83	0.89	0.12	12.49	0.43	1.53
Brahman T.	100.00	56.62	0.08	3.82	0.50	0.59	4.29	1.19	0.86	27.83	1.45	2.77
Rajput	100.00	57.63	0.02	3.47	0.49	0.61	5.53	1.06	0.41	27.34	1.09	2.37
Tharu	100.00	82.39	0.01	1.55	0.06	0.45	1.30	0.48	0.07	12.48	0.10	1.10
Teli	100.00	76.83	0.03	1.35	0.09	0.30	8.99	0.57	0.13	9.91	0.43	1.37
Kushwaha	100.00	85.19	0.01	0.93	0.09	0.27	2.63	0.36	0.06	9.04	0.30	1.11
Muslim	100.00	65.56	0.04	2.55	0.09	1.32	7.70	0.99	0.10	19.18	0.88	1.58
Haluwai	100.00	47.82	0.06	3.00	0.11	0.48	30.10	1.41	0.20	13.98	0.41	2.43
Mallah	100.00	80.82	0.01	1.39	0.04	0.52	3.48	0.70	0.05	11.21	0.49	1.30

Rajbanshi	100.00	57.38	0.02	5.43	0.09	0.41	5.75	1.61	0.13	27.15	0.20	1.82
Dhimal	100.00	69.69	0.04	5.91	0.10	0.72	2.19	1.44	0.06	18.47	0.06	1.32
Gangain	100.00	70.90	0.00	1.17	0.04	0.44	3.46	0.29	0.04	22.12	0.46	1.07
Marwadi	100.00	6.18	0.18	5.23	0.13	0.68	68.19	0.75	0.38	13.73	0.25	4.29
Bangali	100.00	30.18	0.04	10.48	0.37	1.10	3.57	2.21	0.44	26.88	0.85	3.90
Dhanukh	100.00	75.71	0.02	1.28	0.13	0.49	2.58	0.99	0.13	15.87	1.08	1.73
Shikha	100.00	53.49	0.06	3.09	0.06	0.34	4.81	4.27	0.28	30.49	0.98	2.14
Dushadh	100.00	72.91	0.01	1.22	0.05	0.49	1.03	1.06	0.02	20.44	0.38	2.40
Chamar	100.00	75.79	0.01	0.92	0.03	0.54	0.61	0.41	0.02	19.96	0.35	1.37
Khatway	100.00	80.31	0.01	0.73	0.04	0.48	0.84	0.46	0.03	15.76	0.72	0.63
Mushahar	100.00	67.16	0.01	0.51	0.02	0.42	0.40	0.29	0.01	29.39	0.20	1.58
Kewat	100.00	78.57	0.02	1.43	0.10	0.27	2.46	0.63	0.10	14.69	0.49	1.24
Rajbhar	100.00	75.32	0.04	1.36	0.16	0.21	2.88	0.64	0.15	17.01	0.60	1.63
Kanu	100.00	67.68	0.07	2.25	0.11	0.52	14.23	0.84	0.21	11.47	0.31	2.29
Others T.	100.00	69.64	0.04	3.82	0.09	0.78	4.15	0.66	0.12	18.45	0.35	1.90
Brahman Hi	100.00	79.71	0.02	1.09	0.33	0.22	3.58	0.85	0.73	12.28	0.31	0.88
Chhetri	100.00	87.15	0.02	0.95	0.20	0.25	2.30	0.69	0.30	7.02	0.42	0.68
Thakuri	100.00	87.81	0.01	0.72	0.12	0.26	2.29	0.58	0.29	6.78	0.47	0.66
Sanyashi	100.00	85.02	0.03	0.95	0.16	0.30	3.14	0.79	0.19	8.17	0.28	0.96
Newar	100.00	56.87	0.06	5.35	0.53	1.53	13.98	2.07	1.42	16.09	0.32	1.77
Limbu	100.00	91.09	0.01	0.82	0.06	0.21	1.33	0.35	0.08	5.20	0.30	0.55
Rai	100.00	89.89	0.03	1.23	0.06	0.33	1.47	0.43	0.10	5.64	0.29	0.53
Gurung	100.00	85.60	0.04	1.98	0.11	0.48	3.51	0.76	0.19	6.12	0.56	0.66
Thakali	100.00	53.59	0.11	2.66	0.20	1.18	27.04	0.96	0.46	12.18	0.32	1.30
Tamang	100.00	88.41	0.06	3.21	0.08	0.44	1.68	0.70	0.06	4.60	0.17	0.59
Magar	100.00	91.10	0.02	1.19	0.11	0.39	1.30	0.44	0.10	4.53	0.36	0.46
Danuwar	100.00	83.34	0.02	1.21	0.03	0.32	1.18	0.35	0.10	11.98	0.24	1.22
Jirel	100.00	89.57	0.00	1.23	0.00	0.21	1.23	0.25	0.13	6.70	0.30	0.38
Majhi	100.00	78.18	0.25	2.36	0.03	0.42	1.12	0.63	0.07	15.30	0.16	1.49
Sunuwar	100.00	87.14	0.04	2.44	0.08	0.25	2.23	0.40	0.11	6.07	0.49	0.75
Gaine	100.00	61.04	0.06	1.77	0.00	2.09	2.53	0.63	0.06	22.64	0.19	8.98
Chepang	100.00	94.17	0.04	1.00	0.02	0.42	0.29	0.26	0.00	3.31	0.09	0.40
Kumal	100.00	87.31	0.02	3.30	0.10	0.57	0.98	0.32	0.04	6.56	0.23	0.56
Churaute	100.00	57.34	0.00	1.10	0.14	0.69	24.83	1.10	0.27	9.47	3.70	1.37
Bote	100.00	78.35	0.00	1.60	0.17	0.95	1.77	0.65	0.03	15.68	0.03	0.75
Lepcha	100.00	83.53	0.04	2.59	0.09	0.30	1.51	0.56	0.04	10.42	0.39	0.52
Raute	100.00	87.79	0.00	1.28	0.09	0.09	0.94	0.09	0.09	8.45	0.17	1.02
Darai	100.00	83.46	0.02	1.61	0.29	0.57	1.47	0.88	0.04	10.78	0.13	0.75
Raji	100.00	84.64	0.00	2.56	0.00	1.38	2.04	0.59	0.00	8.27	0.26	0.26
Thami	100.00	94.85	0.00	0.89	0.01	0.21	0.99	0.12	0.01	2.45	0.27	0.20
Damain	100.00	70.57	0.02	0.81	0.02	0.54	0.56	0.27	0.02	25.90	0.43	0.86
Kami	100.00	84.15	0.04	5.94	0.03	0.82	1.58	0.25	0.04	5.94	0.51	0.70
Sakri	100.00	89.52	0.06	1.36	0.04	0.89	0.55	0.31	0.02	6.27	0.37	0.60
Wadi	100.00	57.29	0.08	12.50	0.00	0.82	2.11	0.31	0.04	21.81	0.51	4.53
Others H.	100.00	86.59	0.03	2.17	0.10	0.54	1.71	0.47	0.11	6.91	0.56	0.80
Sherpa	100.00	81.66	0.04	4.40	0.08	0.48	6.60	0.48	0.05	4.85	0.55	0.80
Bhote	100.00	88.42	0.03	1.47	0.08	0.27	3.33	0.39	0.15	4.67	0.19	1.00
Others M.	100.00	76.13	0.12	6.36	0.12	0.24	3.79	0.37	0.00	11.63	0.37	0.86
No. Caste	100.00	6.68	0.31	20.34	1.32	0.16	11.80	0.62	0.47	49.22	3.34	5.75
Not Stated	100.00	56.13	0.05	3.18	0.30	1.19	7.89	1.49	0.60	22.23	1.14	5.81

Source : CBS, 1993, Population Census 1991, Vol. 1, Part IX, Table 29.

ANNEX 9

Economically Active Population 10 years and above by
Caste/ethnic group, Major Occupation, 1991.

MAJOR OCCUPATION

Caste/ Ethnic Group	Popln. 10yrs +	Prof/ Technic Worker	Admin- istral Worker	Cleri- cal Worker	Sales Worker	Serv- ice Worker	Farm/ Fish Worker	Produ- ction Labour	Others	Not Stated
All Group	100.00	1.78	0.30	1.06	2.98	6.18	81.10	4.23	2.09	0.28
Yadav/Ahir	100.00	2.11	0.12	0.71	1.28	5.72	86.90	1.35	1.52	0.29
Kayastha	100.00	12.49	1.56	8.23	6.11	7.59	50.83	4.86	7.89	0.44
Kumhar	100.00	1.96	0.16	0.96	2.46	7.27	75.54	9.21	2.13	0.30
Baniya	100.00	1.95	0.36	1.21	32.15	7.84	48.78	4.54	2.74	0.43
Dhobi	100.00	1.10	0.12	0.49	1.92	14.01	76.50	3.55	1.99	0.31
Sudhi/Kalwa	100.00	2.69	0.35	1.30	19.63	7.98	60.38	3.84	3.40	0.43
Kumi	100.00	1.38	0.14	0.71	2.56	9.81	78.76	3.68	2.69	0.27
Brahman T.	100.00	11.21	1.11	4.79	3.93	9.77	56.29	5.96	6.29	0.65
Rajput	100.00	5.08	0.98	3.03	5.21	18.21	57.40	4.86	4.72	0.51
Tharu	100.00	0.92	0.05	0.37	1.15	10.17	82.27	2.79	1.92	0.36
Teli	100.00	2.30	0.20	0.83	8.80	6.18	76.68	2.68	1.99	0.34
Kushwaha	100.00	1.46	0.09	0.46	2.51	6.67	85.07	1.96	1.56	0.21
Muslim	100.00	1.14	0.16	0.34	7.54	11.15	65.43	11.52	2.38	0.33
Haluwai	100.00	1.23	0.26	0.81	23.06	17.47	47.66	5.79	3.07	0.65
Mallah	100.00	0.41	0.04	0.18	3.22	10.39	80.70	2.90	1.83	0.32
Rajbanshi	100.00	0.90	0.09	0.50	4.96	24.82	57.18	7.70	3.50	0.35
Dhimai	100.00	0.59	0.07	0.35	2.17	15.10	69.42	9.29	2.66	0.35
Gangain	100.00	1.73	0.05	0.44	3.26	19.68	70.78	1.58	2.32	0.16
Marwadi	100.00	1.44	2.37	2.38	67.73	6.20	6.01	7.04	5.91	0.93
Bangali	100.00	3.31	1.03	1.80	18.57	18.13	30.11	20.44	5.63	0.99
Dhanukh	100.00	1.26	0.09	0.72	2.20	13.73	75.57	2.73	3.45	0.24
Shikha	100.00	0.76	0.28	0.53	4.22	28.16	53.18	8.80	3.91	0.17
Dushadh	100.00	0.28	0.01	0.18	0.95	19.33	72.81	3.04	3.19	0.21
Chamar	100.00	0.21	0.01	0.09	0.58	18.32	75.66	2.62	2.20	0.30
Khatway	100.00	0.31	0.04	0.17	0.79	15.08	80.16	1.89	1.37	0.18
Myshahar	100.00	0.04	0.00	0.01	0.36	27.83	67.05	1.40	3.14	0.16
Kewat	100.00	1.05	0.05	0.48	2.07	12.56	78.47	2.62	2.38	0.33
Rajbhar	100.00	1.72	0.16	1.09	2.54	13.71	75.20	2.43	2.83	0.31
Kanu	100.00	1.49	0.15	0.99	12.28	9.55	67.52	4.19	3.55	0.28
Others T.	100.00	0.80	0.11	0.46	3.87	15.90	69.52	6.00	2.95	0.40
Brahman Hil	100.00	5.12	0.79	2.90	3.02	4.04	79.55	1.80	2.50	0.27
Chhetri	100.00	1.68	0.27	1.18	1.84	3.93	87.01	1.86	1.98	0.24
Thakuri	100.00	2.23	0.38	1.33	1.89	3.23	87.68	1.45	1.50	0.30
Sanyashi	100.00	1.78	0.22	1.07	2.53	5.15	84.91	2.11	1.80	0.45
Newar	100.00	3.40	1.36	3.55	12.20	6.72	56.69	11.20	4.47	0.41
Limbu	100.00	1.08	0.11	0.40	1.12	3.09	91.01	1.73	1.24	0.23
Rai	100.00	1.13	0.13	0.41	1.16	3.63	89.80	2.14	1.40	0.19
Gurung	100.00	1.32	0.21	0.57	2.59	4.44	85.46	3.44	1.78	0.20
Thakali	100.00	3.41	1.66	1.57	13.09	19.88	53.36	4.27	2.41	0.36
Tamang	100.00	0.39	0.08	0.20	1.24	3.60	88.32	4.67	1.26	0.23

Caste/Ethnic Composition of Population 55

Magar	100.00	0.70	0.07	0.32	0.92	3.36	90.98	2.20	1.25	0.19
Danuwār	100.00	0.80	0.06	0.30	1.05	9.31	83.24	1.92	3.11	0.20
Jirel	100.00	1.31	0.17	0.85	0.98	4.11	89.27	1.82	1.44	0.04
Majhi	100.00	0.21	0.03	0.25	0.99	13.15	78.00	3.54	3.45	0.38
Sunuwar	100.00	0.79	0.13	0.50	1.48	3.66	87.03	4.19	1.85	0.36
Gaine	100.00	2.97	0.06	0.38	2.40	13.60	60.97	8.16	4.24	7.21
Chepang	100.00	0.11	0.00	0.05	0.24	3.20	94.11	1.59	0.63	0.07
Kumal	100.00	0.33	0.08	0.25	0.65	5.63	87.12	4.58	1.21	0.16
Churaute	100.00	0.82	0.00	0.69	24.55	2.61	57.20	6.45	7.68	0.00
Bote	100.00	0.14	0.03	0.20	0.72	14.56	78.18	4.16	1.91	0.10
Lepcha	100.00	1.30	0.26	0.73	1.08	3.93	83.27	7.31	2.03	0.09
Raute	100.00	0.85	0.09	0.85	0.43	5.55	87.70	3.07	1.11	0.34
Darai	100.00	0.22	0.04	0.31	1.30	8.86	83.30	4.03	1.54	0.40
Raji	100.00	0.26	0.07	0.00	0.59	7.35	84.37	6.76	0.53	0.07
Thami	100.00	0.19	0.02	0.09	0.84	1.08	94.79	1.87	1.01	0.10
Damain	100.00	0.18	0.03	0.09	0.44	4.88	70.46	21.91	1.65	0.37
Kami	100.00	0.22	0.03	0.11	0.90	4.22	84.03	8.82	1.40	0.27
Sakri	100.00	0.14	0.03	0.07	0.49	4.19	89.41	4.07	1.38	0.21
Wadi	100.00	0.43	0.00	0.20	1.48	8.21	57.21	25.75	3.91	2.81
Others H.	100.00	0.69	0.08	0.37	1.35	4.69	86.49	4.10	1.93	0.31
Sherpa	100.00	0.92	0.28	0.39	4.15	5.14	81.57	6.03	1.19	0.33
Bhote	100.00	0.71	0.19	0.26	2.83	3.25	88.30	2.33	1.95	0.18
Others M.	100.00	2.57	0.61	0.73	2.57	7.83	75.89	8.20	1.10	0.49
No. Caste	100.00	30.20	5.82	2.87	10.17	7.45	6.13	23.52	12.27	1.55
Not Stated	100.00	6.05	1.14	2.18	6.75	10.67	55.53	8.59	5.91	3.18

Source : CBS, 1993, Population Census 1991, Vol. 1, Part VIII, Table 28.

ANNEX 10

Population by Caste/ethnic Groups, 1991

Total	Population	18,491,097.	Mountain						
Tarai	Groups	and	Population	Hill Groups and	Population	Groups and Populn.			
Tharu	1,194,224	Dushadh	93,242	Chhetri	2,968,082	Majhi	55,050	Sherpa	110,358
Yadav/Ahir	765,137	Rajbanshi	82,177	Brahman H	2,388,455	Danuwar	50,754	Bhote	12,463
Muslim	653,055	Dhobi	76,594	Magar	1,339,308	Sunuwar	40,943	Others M.	1,741
Others T.	627,514	Kumhar	72,008	Newar	1,041,090	Chepeng	36,656		
Teli	250,732	Kanu	70,634	Tamang	1,018,252	Thami	19,103		
Kushwaha	205,797	Khatway	66,612	Kami	963,655	Thakali	13,731	No. Caste	2,951
Chamar	203,919	Rajput	55,712	Rai	525,551	Darai	10,759	Not Stated	4,858
Kurmi	166,718	Kayastha	53,545	Gurung	449,189	Wadi	7,082		
Brahman T.	162,886	Haluwai	44,417	Damain	367,989	Bote	6,718		
Sudhi/Kalwr	162,046	Rajbhar	33,433	Thakuri	299,473	Jirel	4,889		
Mushahar	141,980	Marwadi	29,173	Limbu	297,186	Lepcha	4,826		
Dhanukh	136,944	Gangain	22,526	Sarki	276,224	Gaine	4,484		
Mallah	110,413	Dhimai	16,781	Others H.	184,216	Raji	3,274		
Baniya	101,868	Shikha	9,292	Sanyashi	181,726	Raute	2,878		
Kewat	101,482	Bangali	7,909	Kumal	76,635	Churaute	1,778		

Source: CBS 1993, Population Census 1991, Vol. I, Part VII, Table 25.

RESEARCH NOTE

ETHNOBOTANICAL CENSUS ON HERBAL MEDICINE OF BANKE DISTRICT, NEPAL

Naravan P. Manandhar

Introduction

The use of herbal medicine is a common practice in Nepal since long as it is easily available and affordable. Additionally, major population has traditional belief in it. One can observe the family relationship between a healer and a patient. The western medicine, though available is expensive and not easily available to all rural people who depends upon the native therapy for their primary health care. It is estimated that there is less than one hundred people per healer (Gillam, 1989) whereas one doctor for 92,000 population in the rural areas (MOH, 1991).

Area of Study

Banke district which is located between $81^{\circ}.29'-82^{\circ}.8'E$ and $27^{\circ}.51'-28^{\circ}.20'N$ is one of the 75 districts of Nepal. The district Baharainch of Utter Pradesh, India is in its south and the Nepalese districts Surkhet, Dang-Deokhuri and Bardiya are in north, east and west respectively. The total area of the district is 2337 km^2 and the population is 285,604. The ethnic groups are Muslim, Tharu, Newar, Thakali, Gurung, Tamang and Magar. They speak Abadhi, Hindi, Magar, maithili, Newari, Tharu and Urdu but most of them understand and speak Nepali, the national language.

Rapti, Man and Dundawa are some important rivers here. The climate of the district is tropical and sub tropical, and the average maximum and minimum temperature is 30.8° C and 16.2° C respectively (Sharma et al., 1994).

Plant Resources

The growing population and rapid urbanization in the district have adversely affected the forest resources. Additionally, there is an open border between India and Nepal. The unchecked flow of people between these countries has important variable in the domestic population factor. Thus there is heavy constrain on plant resources, causing the depletion of forest plants. There is

1,21,957 hectare of forest area but only 108 hectare (0.09%) has forest cover.

Mainly the tropical plants such as *Aegle marmelos*, *Anogeissus latifolia*, *Carissa carandas*, *Schleichera trijuga*, *Semecarpus ancardium*, *Shorea robusta*, *Terminalia bellirica*, *T.chebula*, *Woodfordia fruticosa*, *Zizyphus mauritiana* are found in this area.

Methodology

The data was collected during six visits in the years 1994, 1995 and 1996. It is mainly based on oral interview with the adult villagers, local healers, personal observation and discussion. Altogether 15 informants from 5 villages (Naubasta, Kohalpur, Khajura, Dhakeri and Shamsheganj) were choosen to collect the information. Five native healers from each village and 10 adults including 2 women were interviewed for this study. They were between the age of 35-70 years. The varification of data and their inclusion in present study is the same as mentioned before (Manandhar, 1991, 1993, 1995). The plants are arranged in alphabetical order of botanical name, followed by the family, Tharu name (Th.), collection number of the author, and ethnobotanical notes. These plants were collected and identified by the author. They are housed in the National Herbarium and Plant Laboratories, Godawari, Nepal.

Acacia catechu (L.f.) Wild., Fabaceae, Khair-Th., 3-95

Central wood peices are boiled in water till the amount is half, and is taken 6 teaspoons 3 times a day to relieve muscular pain and dislocated bone; it is also applied externally to affected part.

Achyranthes aspera L., Amaranthaceae, Chachyura-Th., 116-94

Root juice, 3 times a day is given to relieve swollen part of the body.

Acorus calamus L., Araceae, Bojho-Th., 11-95

Root is chewed to relieve cough and is also considered effective in case of throat and nasal congection especially during cough and cold.

Aegle marmelos L. Correa, Rutaceae, Bel-Th., 32-95

Fresh leaf is boiled with water and its vapour is inhaled to relieve cough and cold.

Ageratium conyzoides L., Asteraceae, Kukurmutta-Th., 107-94

Plant paste is applied below the navel to facilitate the urination if there is problem in urination.

Alium sativum L. Amaryllidaceae, Lasun-Th., 22-95

Paste of cloves is applied to treat ringworm.

Alternanthera sessilis L. DC., Amaranthaceae, Makar jharya-Th., 140-94.

Root juice, about 4 teaspoons 3 times a day is given to treat fever.

Anisomeles indica (L.) Kuntze, Lamiaceae, Udaira-Th., 184-94

Leaf juice is put in the ear to stop pus formation inside.

Azadirachta indica A. Juss., Meliaceae, Nim-Th., 120-94

Juice of leaf, about 6 teaspoons 3 times a day is given to relieve fever.

Artocarpus heterophyllus Lam., Moraceae, Katahar-Th., 3901

Leaf juice, mixed with the flower juice of *Punica granatum* in equal amount is given 4 teaspoons 3 times a day to treat diarrhoea and dysentery.

Basella alba L., Basellaceae, Pamoi-Th., 3958

Paste of leaf is applied to relieve jointache; it is also followed by hot compress.

Butea monosperma (Lam.) Kuntz., Fabaceae, Palas-Th., 4242

Powder of two seeds is taken as anthelmintic medicine. Leaf juice is applied to treat skin diseases.

Calotropis gigantea (L.) Dryand., Asclepiadaceae, Madar-Th., 3362 Latex is applied to treat boils.

Capparis spinosa L., Capparaceae, Baghmukhwa-Th., 155-94

Root juice, about 4 teaspoons 3 times a day is given to treat indigestion.

Careya arborea Roxb., Lecythidaceae, Kumbhi-Th., 154-94

Bark juice, about 4 teaspoons 3 times a day is given to relieve fever.

Carissa carandas L., Apocynaceae, Karonda-Th., 185-94

Pieces of root is roasted in mustard oil which is put in the wound to kill any germs inside; it also helps for quick healing of the wound.

Cassia fistula L., Fabaceae, Airoka kathwa-Th., 149-94

Fruit pulp is applied on forehead to treat headache. Juice of fruit, about 4 teaspoons 3 times a day is taken in case of acidity.

Clerodendrum viscosum Vent., Verbenaceae, Bhand-Th., 136-94

Juice of leaf is applied on temples of both sides to relieve headache.

Coleobrookea oppositifolia Sm., Lamiaceae, Dhursul-Th., 3945

Paste of leaf bud is applied around the anus to treat tapeworm.

Coix lachryma-jobi L., Poaceae, Guinji-Th., 4492

Juice of root, about 4 teaspoons once a day for three days, is taken as an anthelmintic medicine.

Cryptolepis buchananii Roem. & Schult., Asclepiadaceae, Seto dudhiya-Th., 137-94. Leaf is fed to animals as galactagogue.

Dalbergia sissoo Roxb., Fabaceae, Siso-Th., 9494

Juice of bark, about 4 teaspoons 4 times a day is taken during painful urination.

Datura metel L., Solanaceae, Dhatur-Th., 27-95

Dried fruit powder is smoked to treat toothache.

Diplocyclos palmatus (L.) C. Jeffrey, Cucurbitaceae, Baj burya-Th., 170-94

Juice of fruit, about 4 teaspoons 3 times a day is given to relieve stomachache.

Eclipta prostrata L., Asteraceae, Bhangraila-Th., 106-94.

Juice of plant is applied to treat the wound caused by constant walking barefooted in muddy water, especially during rainy season.

Equisetum diffusum D. Don, Equisetaceae, Aankhe-Th., 135-94

Juice of root, about 3 teaspoons 6 times a day is given to relieve fever.

Eulaliopsis binata (Retz.) C. E. Hubbard, Poaceae, Kush-Th., 4483

Plant is burnt and the ash, mixed with mustard oil is applied to treat cuts and wounds of domestic animals.

Euphorbia hirta (L.), Euphorbiaceae, Bhangariya-Th., 29-95

Latex are dropped inside the eye to treat inflammation.

E. royleana Boiss, Euphorbiaceae, Golo syur-Th., 4611

Juice of leaf, about 4 teaspoons 3 times a day is taken to relieve pneumonia.

Ficus religiosa L., Moraceae, Pipal-Th., 4161

Juice of bark is applied to treat cuts and wounds. Juice of aerial root, about 6 teaspoons 3 times a day is taken in case of menstrual disorder.

Holarrhena pubescens (Buch.-Ham.) Wall. ex G. Don, Apocynaceae, Kachari-Th. 3363

About 10gm of seed powder with milk is taken 2 times a day in case of asthma. Juice of bark, about 4 teaspoons 3 times a day is prescribed to treat cough and cold.

Ichnocarpus frutescens (L.) R. Br., Asclepiadaceae, Khegar dudhi-Th., 132-94 Leaf is fed to animal as galactagogue.

Jatropha curcas L. Euphorbiaceae, Ratanjot-Th., 191-94.

Latex is applied to treat wounds caused by walking barefooted in muddy water during rainy season; paste of seed is applied to treat burnt part of the body.

J. gossypifolia L., Euphorbiaceae, Chhotaka injor-Th., 126-94

Juice of leaf is applied to treat cuts and wounds.

Justicia adhatoda L., Acanthaceae, Asura-Th., 3507

About 30gm of leaf juice, mixed with 5 gm of fruit of *Piper longum* and 10gm of rhizome juice of *Zingiber officinale*, is heated, divided into three doses and is taken three times a day.

Lawsonia inermis L., Lythraceae, Mehandi-Th., 51-95

Juice of leaf is applied to treat the wounds, between the toes caused by constant walking during the rainy season.

Leea crispa van Royen ex L., Leeaceae, Danga-Th., 111-94

Root is chewed to treat dental caries; it is also hung on the ear.

Leucas cephalotes (Roth) Spreng., Lamiaceae, Gum-Th., 139-94

Juice of plant is applied to treat cuts and wounds.

Mukia maderaspatana (L.) Roem., Cucurbitaceae, Gaihma-Th., 138-94

Seeds, about 6 teaspoons 2 times a day is taken in case of indigestion.

Peristrophe bicalyculata (Retz.) Nees, Acanthaceae, Ultakur phularaji, 131-

94. Juice of root, about 3 teaspoons 2 times a day is given in case of a tendency of vomiting or if there is some traces of blood in vomiting. Plant, mixed with 1/4th amount of *Piper longum* is pounded and mixed with water is taken as antirabies medicine.

Piper longum L., Piperaceae, Phari pipal-Th., 3474

Ripe fruits are chewed in case of cough and cold.

Ricinus communis L., Euphorbiaceae, Arend-Th., 4163

Seed-oil is applied to treat muscular sprain. Immatured leaf is slightly heated on fire and is compressed to treat hydrocele.*

Scorparia dulcis L., Scrophulariaceae, Kapale-Th., 134-94

Paste of plant is applied on both the temples to relieve headache.

Semecarpus anacardium L.f., Anacardiaceae, Bhela-Th., 150-94

Juice of fruit is applied to treat cuts and wounds.

Shorea robusta Gaertn., Dipterocarpaceae, Sal-Th., 203-94

About 10gm of resin, 3 times a day, is taken with yogurt to relieve diarrhoea and dysentery.

Solanum nigrum L., Solanaceae, Bhomara-Th., 174-94

Juice of plant is heated and is applied to treat cuts and wounds.

S. surattense Brum. f., Solanaceae, Kacheta-Th., 147-94

Juice of fruit, about 4 teaspoons 4 times a day is given to relieve cough and cold, and is also applied to treat cuts and wounds.

Streblus asper Lour., Moraceae, Sehor-Th., 129-94

Juice of bark, about 3 teaspoons 4 times a day is given in case of diarrhoea and dysentery.

Terminalia alata Heyne ex Roth, Combretaceae, Saj-Th., 202-94

Juice of bark, about 6 teaspoons 3 times a day is given in case of diarrhoea and dysentery.

Tinospora sinensis (Lour.) Merr., Menispermaceae, Guruj-Th., 3301

Juice of stem, about 6 teaspoons 3 times a day is given to treat the bloody urine.

Woodfordia fruticosa (L.) Kurz, Lythraceae, Dhayara-Th., 117-94.

Juice of bark is boiled and is applied to treat burnt part of the body; it is also given, 3 teaspoons 6 times a day to relieve diarrhoea and dysentery.

Zizyphus mauritiana Lam., Rhamnaceae, Ber-Th. 3365

Juice of root, about 4 teaspoons 4 times a day is taken to relieve gastric troubles.

Result and Discussion

The study identified 52 species of medicinal plants which are used to relieve 26 types of diseases. It was noted that the roots (12 species), leaves (11 sps.), whole plant (7 sps.), bark (6 sps.) fruit (6 sps.), latex (5 sps.), seeds (4 sps.) and wood (1 sps.) were commonly used in native therapy. Out of these, three species are valued for veterinary medicine. The priority of the villagers is native treatment which is cheap and easily available in their door steps. The western treatment is their last preference of treatment.

The healers in the rural areas complained that it was difficult to get herbal drug when needed. Two informants had planted *Acorus calamus*, *Cassia fistula*, *Eulaliopsis binata*, *Justicia adhatoda*, *Piper longum* and *Woodfordia fruticosa* in their kitchen garden. It seems to be a green signal to encourage indigenous knowledge to conserve the plant resources of their surroundings.

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RESEARCH NOTE

A TYPOLOGICAL COMPARISON OF NEPALI AND JAPANESE

Sueyoshi Toba

Introduction

The kingdom of Nepal is situated very far from Japan, yet some aspects of culture share common features. Similarity is found even in language. If languages have something in common because of geographical proximity, it is understandable, but one wonders why these two which are so far apart areawise have such similarity. Is it just coincidence?

When a Japanese learns Nepali, s/he finds it easier to master it than English, perhaps due to similar syntactic structure. In this paper we will look at some of the similarities in the two languages on the clause and phrase levels.

Clause Level

Structure of the Clause: The clause is a grammatical unit usually consisting of constituents such as subject, object and verb. The order of the major constituents differs from language to language.

The order of constituents of the clause is one of the most important word-order typological parameters. The parameter characterizes the relative order of subject (S), object (O), and verb (V), giving rise to six logically possible types, namely:

1. SOV (found in Japanese, Turkish)
2. SVO (English, French, Chinese)
3. VSO (Welsh, Biblical Hebrew)
4. VOS (Malagasy)
5. OVS (Hirakanyana in Brazil)
6. OSV (not found yet)

Among the six types, Nepali is an example of the first type, i.e. SOV:¹, it can also be described as a verb-final language. If there are only S and V in a clause, the S always comes before the V. Japanese works exactly

the same:². Consider the following examples (Part (a) of the example is in Nepali, and part (b) in Japanese.)

- 1) a. Aamaa aayo
 S: mother V: came
- b. Naha-ga kita
 S: mother-sub.mk. V: came
 'Mother came.'

When all three constituents are present, the order is SOV.

- 2) a. Pitaa-le bhaat khaanubhayo
 S: father-ag.mk. O: rice V: ate
- b. cici-wa gohan-wo tabemasita
 S: father-ag.mk. O: rice-ob.mk. V: ate
 'Father had his rice.'

In both languages the subject can be deleted when it is a pronoun, as it is clear from the verb morphology or context of the clause who the subject is. In some cases both the subject and the object can be deleted, leaving only the verb in the clause, for example in answer to a question like:

- 3) a. Khaana khaanubho? khaae.
 O: food V: ate (I) ate.
- b. Gohan-wo kabemasitaka? tabeta.
 O: food-ob.mk V: ate ate
 'Did (you) eat? Yes, I did.'

In the above example the answer could also have been simply, 'āā' (Nepali) or 'hai' (Japanese) as an affirmative response to the question.

Objective complements have the same position as that of a simple nominal object, as in examples 4 and 5:

- 4) a. raaj-le kathaa bhanyo
 S: Raj-ag.mk. O: story V: told
 'Raj told a story.'
- b. taro-wa monogatari-o hanasita
 S: Taro-ag.mk O: story V: told
 'Taro told a story.'

- 5) a. raaj-le sitaa-le ghar banaayo bhanera bhanyo
 Raj-ag.mk. Sita-ag.mk. house built saying said
 Or: raaj-le sitaa-le ghar banaayo bhanyo
 Raj-ag.mk. Sita-ag.mk. house built said
 'Raj said that Sita built a house.'
- b. taro-wa jiro-ga³ ie-wo tateta to itta
 Taro-ag.mk. Jiro-ag.mk. house-ob.mk. built that said
 'Taro said that Jiro built a house.'

In Example 5 we find a grammatical difference between Nepali and Japanese, namely that in Japanese sentence 'to' is obligatory while in Nepali 'bhanera' is optional and is often deleted.

Case Markers

Agentive Case Markers: In both Nepali and Japanese, the agent of a transitive clause is marked when the verb is in the perfective aspect or past tense. The agentive case marker follows the agent.

- 6) a. raam-le bhaat khaayo
 Ram-ag.mk. rice ate
 'Ram ate rice.'
- b. taro-wa gohan-wo tabeta
 Taro-ag.mk. rice-ob.mk. ate
 'Taro ate rice.'

Regarding case marking, Japanese differs from Nepali in that in Japanese intransitive subjects are also marked. The subject marker for an intransitive clause is the same as the agent marker for a transitive clause.

- 7) taro-wa ie-ni imasu
 Taro-sub.mk. house-in is
 'Taro is in the house.'

Object Case Markers: In Nepali, the object takes '-lai' if it is animate, otherwise it does not, while in Japanese the object takes a marker regardless of animacy. This is another difference between the two languages, so a Nepali learning Japanese has to be aware of the fact that the object marker '-wo' should always be added to the object.⁴

The Noun Phrase

Modifiers Preceding the Noun: In both Japanese and Nepali nominal phrases, modifiers such as adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, genitives, and embedded clauses come before the noun they modify. For Example:

Adjectives:

8) a. seto parbat
white mountain
'White mountain'

b. siroi yama
white mountain
'White mountain'

Demonstratives:

9) a. tyo maanche
that man

b. sono hito
that man
'That man'

Numerals:

10) a. das paisaa
ten pice
'Ten pice'

b. jyu yen
ten yen
'Ten yen'

When adjectives, demonstratives and numerals are all present, the order is as follows: demonstratives first, numerals second and adjectives third.

11) a. ti caar thulo ghar-haru
those four big house-s
b. korera yottuno ookina ie
those four big house
'Those four big houses.'

Genitives:

12) a. nepaal-ko ghar
Nepal-of house

b. neparu-no ie
Nepal-of house
'House of Nepal'

Multiple genitive noun phrases are also common in both languages:

13) a. nepaal-ko raajaa-ko ghar-ko dhokaa
Nepal-of king-of house-of gate
b. neparu-no oo-no ie-no mon
Nepal-of king-of house-of gate
'the gate of the king of Nepal's house'

Embedded Clauses:

- 14) a. timi-le dieko paisaa
 you-ag.mk gave money
- b. omae-ga kureta okane
 you-ag.mk. gave money
 'the money you gave'

Postpositions: In Nepali postpositions like '-maa', 'samma', 'tira' come after the head noun. Such postpositions appear in the same position in Japanese.

- 15) a. ghar-maa
house-in
'in the house'
- b. kurumano-naka
car inside
'in the car'

The Verb Phrase: Adverbs that qualify the verb such as adverbs of manner, place and time always precede the verb.

Manner:

- 16) a. bistaarai jaanchu
slowly go (I)
b. yukkuri ikimasu
slowly go (I)
'(I) go slowly.'

Place:

- 17) a. ghar-bhitra jaanubhayo
house-inside went (he)
b. ie-nonakani ikimasita
house-inside went (h)
'(He) went inside the house.

Time:

- 18) a. u ahile ghar-maa cha
 he now house-in is
 'He is in the house now.'
- b. kanojo-wa ima ie-ni imasu
 she-ag.mk. now house-in is
 'She is in the house now.'

Conclusion

Although there exist many differences in phonology, lexicon and morphology, it is interesting to find some similarity in the syntax of these

two languages. This similarity helps the Japanese to learn Nepali faster; likewise, it enables the Nepalese to pick up Japanese easily.

Notes

1. Pradhan (1982) presents word order structure in Nepali. In my paper only basic word order is discussed, thus topicalization or emphatic word order variants are not included.
2. Hale (1982) states, "The order OV is ... a pattern which typifies not only the Dravidian and Indo- Aryan languages of South Asia, but also the Tibeto-Burman.... There is a large area including a block of languages extending to the Hamitic and Semitic languages of Ethiopia ... and to Korean, Japanese." (p. 57).
3. In Japanese, "-wa" and "-ga", though both labeled as agent marker have separate functions in discourse.
4. Modern conversational Japanese sometimes deletes "-wo".

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हिन्दू सांस्कृतिक परम्परामा देवराज इन्द्र

वीणा पौड्याल

वेद र पुराणमा महत्वपूर्ण स्थान प्राप्त गरेका इन्द्रदेवको बेग्लै सम्प्रदाय स्थापित भएन तर यिनको पूजा-आजा र जात्राको भारतीय र नेपाली समाजमा ठूलो महत्त्व छ। विभिन्न धार्मिक पुस्तकहरूमा इन्द्रको प्रतिमा निर्माण गर्ने नियमहरू बताइएका छन्। १) वेद, (२) वृहत्संहिता, ३) विष्णुधर्मोत्तर पुराण, ४) रूपमण्डन, ५) अग्निपुराण, ६) मत्स्यपुराण, ७) अंशुमदभेदागम आदि विभिन्न पुस्तकहरूमा विभिन्न नियम तोकिएका छन्। वृहत्संहितामा इन्द्रको मूर्ति बनाउँदा हातमा बज्र लिएको, निधारमा तेश्रो आँखा, सेतो रंगको, चार हात भएको, हात्तीमा चढेको बनाइनु पर्ने नियम तोकिएको छ (वृ.सं. ५७।५।४२)।

विष्णु धर्मोत्तरपुराणमा इन्द्रका प्रतिमा लक्षण यस प्रकार छन्:- नीलो लुगा लगाएको, स्वर्णजस्तो अनुहार, निधारमा तेश्रो आँखा, सम्पूर्ण गहना लगाएको, पत्नी शची इन्द्रदेवको देवैतिर, वाहन ऐरावत हात्ती श्वेतवर्णको र चार दाँत भएको हुनु पर्दछ ।^१

अंशुमदभेदागममा इन्द्रको यस्तो रूपको वर्णन छ। दुईवटा भुजा र दुइटा मात्र आँखा भएका इन्द्रको रंग गाढा बनाइनु पर्दछ। मूर्ति सारै राम्रो र आकर्षक हुनु पर्दछ जसमा किरीट, कुण्डल, हार, केयूर र अन्य गहनाको प्रयोगको साथै रातो वस्त्रको पनि प्रयोग गर्नु पर्दछ। दायाँ हातमा शक्ति र बायाँमा अंकुश लिएको इन्द्रको मूर्तिमा घाँटी मसिनो र पेट अलिकति ठूलो बनाइनु पर्दछ। सिंहासनमा बसेको, उभिएको वा ऐरावत हात्तीमा चढेको देखाउनु पर्दछ। इन्द्रको देब्रेतर्फ सम्पूर्ण गहनाले श्रृंगारिएको, हातमा आदल फूल लिएकी इन्द्राणीलाई युवतीको रूपमा दर्शाइनु पर्दछ। यी दिव्य जोडीको दुबै तर्फ एक जोडी गन्धर्व कन्याले बहुरंगी चमर हम्किएको देखाइनु पर्दछ। अंशुमदभेदागम बाहेक अन्य पुस्तकहरूमा इन्द्र र इन्द्रायणीको यस्तै वर्णन छ तर हातमा भएका आयुध भने केही फरक छन्। इन्द्रको रंग सेतो, निधारको बीचमा तेर्सो पारेर तेश्रो आँखा बनाइनु पर्दछ। इन्द्राणीको रंग सुनैलो र लुगा नीलो हुनु पर्दछ। दुई हातमध्ये एक हातले इन्द्रलाई अंगालो हालेको र अर्को हातले सन्तानमन्जरी समातेको हुनु पर्दछ। इन्द्राणी इन्द्रको देब्रे काखमा बसेको हुनु पर्दछ (Rao, 1985, pp. 518-20)।

सहस्रनयन, मत्ताहात्तीमा विराजमान, छाती, उरू र वदन विशाल गरेका, सिंहको जस्तो स्कन्ध, लामा हात, किरटकुण्डलधारी, वज्र र पद्म बाहुमा लिने नानाभूषण भूषित इन्द्रको प्रतिमा बनाउने नियम मत्स्यपुराणमा तोकिएको छ।

अग्निपुराणमा पनि मत्स्यपुराणमा जस्तै इन्द्रको लक्षण छ। वेदमा पनि वज्र धारण गरेका, दाही पालेका र दुई बाहुयुक्त इन्द्रको वर्णन छ।

इन्द्र वेदका महत्वपूर्ण देवता हुन्। ऋग्वेदमा इन्द्रको प्रभुत्व देख्न प्रष्टसँग सकिन्छ। २०२८ शुक्तमध्ये २५० जति सुक्त ता इन्द्रको वर्णनमा रचिएका छन् (Dandekar: 1979, p.14).

वेदमा इन्द्रको यस्तो प्रभाव देखेरै होला Macdonell ले वैदिक भारतीयहरूलाई इन्द्र सबैभन्दा मनपर्ने राष्ट्रिय देवता हुन् भनेर उल्लेख गरेका छन्। वेदमा वर्णन गरिएका देवताहरू प्रकृतिमा भएकै तत्वहरू भएकाले उनीहरूको मानवीय शरीरको वर्णनभन्दा गुणको मात्रै उल्लेख पाइन्छ। तर इन्द्रको भने मानवीय शरीरको (Anthropomorphic) वर्णन पनि उत्तिकै गरिएको पाइन्छ। शुरूमा इन्द्रलाई अँध्यारोमा विजय प्राप्त गर्ने र पानीको देवताको रूपमा वर्णन गरिएको छ। त्यसपछि युद्धका देवताको रूपमा उल्लेख छ। इन्द्रले आर्यहरूलाई बाहिरका अन्य प्रजातिसँग युद्ध गर्न मद्दत गरेको वर्णन वेदमा छ। त्यसैले युद्धको देवताको रूपमा इन्द्रको वर्णन छ (Macdonell, p.54-55).

वेदका विभिन्न ठाउँमा इन्द्रको वृत्रासुर र अन्य राक्षससँग युद्ध भएको प्रसंग आउँछ। विद्वान् तिलकले इन्द्र र वृत्रको लडाइलाई सूर्य र हिउँसँग दाँजेका छन्। आर्यहरूको वासस्थान पृथ्वीको यस्तो ठाउँमा थियो जहाँ सूर्यको प्रतीक्षा तीव्र रूपले गर्नु पर्दथ्यो। त्यसैले इन्द्रको प्रतीक सूर्य र हिउँको प्रतीक वृत्र मानेर वेदमा शुक्तहरूको रचना भएका छन्।

इन्द्र हिंसारहित छन्, उनी हाम्रो उत्तम बुद्धि बढाउँछन्। हामी स्तुतिद्वारा उनका नजिक जान्छौं। वज्र (वृत्र) लाई मार्दा उनी(इन्द्र)सँग मरुद्गा पनि थिए। जब आकाशबाट पृथ्वीमा पानी परेन, धन दिने भूमि ब्वालीले ढाकिएन, त्यसबेला इन्द्रले वज्रको सहायताले वादलबाट तल झर्ने जल निकाले। इन्द्रको स्वधामन्त्रका अनुसार पानी पर्‍यो। जब वृत्रले नदीलाई बग्नबाट रोक्‍यो, इन्द्रले उसको वध गरे। (हे इन्द्र! तिमीले शान्तचित्त, श्रेष्ठ गुण भएको श्वेत्रेयलाई क्षेत्र प्राप्तिको उद्देश्यले बचाएको थियौं)।

वेद, पुराण, रामायण, महाभारत यी सबै ग्रन्थमा कुनै न कुनै प्रकारले देवराज इन्द्र र वृत्रासुरको युद्धको वर्णन छ। वृत्रासुरको नेतृत्वमा कालकेय र अन्य राक्षसले देवगणसँग युद्ध गरे। वाणको वर्षाले वृत्रासुरले इन्द्रलाई मुर्छा पार्‍यो। ऋषि वशिष्ठले इन्द्रलाई ब्युत्थाए। ऋषि दधिचीको हाडबाट बनेको हतियारले मात्र वृत्रासुर मर्ने कुराको रहस्य विष्णुले भनेपछि देवगण दधिचि कहाँ गएर सम्पूर्ण वृत्तान्त बताए। विश्वकल्याणको लागि आफ्नो वज्र जस्तो हाड मै नरम मन भएका धोचिले अर्पण गरे। परोपकारी ऋषि दधिचीको हाडबाट बनेको वज्रद्वारा वृत्रासुर मारियो। (महाभारत, वनपर्व, अध्याय १०१, श्लोक १४-१५, महाशान्तिपर्व, अध्याय २८१, श्लोक १३-२१) देवराज इन्द्रलाई ब्रह्महत्याको पाप

लागेपछि देवगण र ऋषिहरूले सरयु नदीमा लगेर नुहाएर पापमोचन गराएको वर्णन रामायणमा छ (वाल्मीकी रामायण, बालकाण्ड, २५सौं सर्ग)।

गौतम ऋषिकी पत्नी अहिल्यासँग देवराज इन्द्रले छल गरी अनुचित सम्बन्ध कायम गरे। ऋषिलाई यो स्थिति बोध भएपछि पत्नीलाई पत्थरको मूर्तिमा परिणत गरी इन्द्रको अण्डकोष भर्ने श्राप दिए। इन्द्रको दुर्दशा देखेर उनका साथीहरूले इन्द्रलाई बोकाको अण्डकोष हालिदिए। बेलाबेलामा सोमरस बढी पिएर पियवकडको रूपमा र रसिक चरित्रको कारण पनि इन्द्र वदनाम छन्। त्यसैले विदुषी सुकुमारीले इन्द्रलाई असाधारण पुरुषत्व भएको, स्वास्नीमानिसको पछि दुगुर्ने, कामुक आदि विशेषणले संबोधन गरेकी छिन्। (Bhattacharyi: 1988, p. 273).

इन्द्रकी पत्नी शची पुलोमा भन्ने दैत्यकी छोरी रहेकी हुँदा तिनलाई पौलोमी पनि भनिन्छ। ऋग्वेदको दशौं मण्डलको १६०औं सुक्त शचीद्वारा रचित मानिन्छ। उनी भनिछन्, "इन्द्रलाई उनले आफ्नो वशमा गरीसकेकी छिन्, तिनी उनको इच्छानुसार काम गर्छन् र बडो आदरका साथ शचीको नाम लिन्छन्।" (दीक्षित, २०४६, पृ. १३७)।

उत्तर रामायणमा इन्द्रको छोरा बालीको प्रसंग पनि रोचक रूपमा उल्लेख छ। सूर्य देवका सारथी अरुण केटीको भेषमा इन्द्रलोकमा नाच हेर्न गएका थिए। इन्द्र अरुणको (आरुणी) रूपबाट मुग्ध भए। त्यही बेला दुबैको संसर्गबाट बालीको जन्म भयो। यसै गरी अर्जुनको जन्मबारेको कथा पनि उत्तर रामायण र महाभारतमा वर्णन गरिएका छन्। पाण्डु-पत्नी कुन्तीले ऋषि दुर्वासाबाट पाँच मन्त्र पाएकी थिइन्। तिनै मन्त्रअनुसार कुन्तीले इन्द्रको आवाहन गरी इन्द्रद्वारा प्राप्त पुत्र नै अर्जुन हुन्। बाबुको नाताले इन्द्रले महाभारतको युद्धमा अर्जुनलाई मद्दत गर्न दानवीर कर्णसँग ब्राह्मणको भेषमा कुण्डल मागेको मार्भिक प्रसंग पनि एकपल्ट सम्झनु पर्दछ (महाभारत, अरण्य अथवा राय पर्व, अध्याय ३१०)।

खाण्डव दाह गर्ने प्रसंगमा भने इन्द्र र अर्जुनको खटपट परेको थियो। राजा श्वेतकीले एकसय वर्षसम्म लगातार यज्ञ गरे। एकसय वर्षसम्म विभिन्न प्रकारका वस्तु खानु पर्दा अग्निको पेट बिग्रियो। अग्निको पेटको उपचारको लागि ब्रह्माले खाण्डव वनमा आगो लगाउने सल्लाह दिए। त्यही अनुरूप अग्निदेवले आगो लगाए। उता, इन्द्रको साथी तक्षक परिवारसहित त्यसै जंगलमा बस्दथे आफ्नो साथीको ज्यान सुरक्षा गर्न इन्द्रदेवले सातपल्टसम्म पानी पारेर आगो निभाए। नरनारायण कृष्ण र अर्जुन भएर जन्मिएपछि मात्र अग्निलाई खाण्डव वन डढाउन सजिलो भयो। खाण्डव वनलाई डढेलोबाट जोगाउन ऐरावत चढेका इन्द्रलाई विभिन्न देवता र दानवले पनि मद्दत गरेका थिए। तर अन्त्यमा अर्जुन र कृष्णकै विजय भयो। (Vettam Mani, 1993: P. 409)

इन्द्रका हजार आँखा र शिवका चार टाउकाको उत्पत्तिबारे महाभारतको आदिपर्वमा रोचक कथा छ। सुन्द र उपसुन्द नामका दुई राक्षस दाजुभाईको उपद्रोले गर्दा तिनलाई दमन गर्न ब्रह्माको आदेशअनुसार विश्वकर्मा तिलोत्तमालाई कश्यप र प्रधाकी छोरीको रूपमा जन्माए। पृथ्वीमा भएका सम्पूर्ण उत्तम वस्तुका स-साना टुक्रा (तिलांश) जम्मा

पारेर निर्माण गरिएकी हुनाले उनको नाम तिलोत्तमा भयो। त्यसैले उनी साह्रै नै सुन्दरी थिइन्। देवलोकमा पूजा समाप्त गरेर पृथ्वीमा आउने क्रममा तिलोत्तमा आफु बीचमा बसेर देवगणलाई वरिपरि घुमेर पूजा गर्दा आँखै नभिमकाई हेर्न खोज्दा शिवको चारैतर्फ टाउका उम्रिए, इन्द्रको पनि टाउकोमा आँखै आँखा उत्पन्न भए (महाभारत, आदिपर्व, अध्याय २१३)।

रामभक्त हनुमानको हनु (चिउँडो) बांगो भएको प्रसंग पनि इन्द्रसँग जोडिएको छ। अप्सरा अंजना र वायुपुत्र हनुमानलाई बालककालमा एकपल्ट खूब भोक लागेछ सूर्योदयको बेला उदाउन लागेको सूर्यलाई कुनै पाकेको फल ठानेर दौडेर, उफ्रेर, उडेर हनुमानले निलुँला भैं गरे। सूर्य निलेमा पृथ्वीमा अनर्थ हुने देखेर इन्द्रले वायुपुत्रलाई बज्रले प्रहार गरे। जसले गर्दा चिउँडो बागियो। आफ्नो बालकछोरा हनुमानको विजोग देखेर वायु रिसाएर छोरो काखमा लिएर गुफामा गएर बसे। वायु (हावा) नभएपछि सम्पूर्ण प्राणीलाई श्वास फेर्न गाह्रो भयो। सम्पूर्ण देवगण वायुको प्रार्थना गर्न गए। वायुलाई खुशी पार्न उनको छोरालाई विभिन्न उपहार र वरदान देवगणले प्रदान गरे। त्यही क्रममा देवराज इन्द्रले हनुमानलाई इच्छा मृत्युको वरदान दिए। त्यसपछि वायुले आफ्नो कार्य फेरि प्रारम्भ गरे (उत्तर रामायण, वाल्मिकी रामायण किष्किन्धा काण्ड, ६६ सर्ग)।

एकोहोरो ढिपी गर्नेलाई सम्झाउने सन्दर्भमा देवताका राजा इन्द्र र यवकृतको रोचक कथा महाभारतमा वर्णन गरिएको छ। विद्वान् भारद्वाजका छोरा यवकृतले बालखकालमा पढ्न सकेनन्। युवावस्था पनि त्यसै वित्यो। ढिलो भए पनि पढ्नु त पर्ने नै रहेछ भन्ने बुझे। तर उमेर ढल्किसकेकोले क्रमिक रूपमा पढ्न निकै कठिन भयो। यवकृतले तपस्याको बाटो रोज्ने निर्णय गरे। कठोर तपपछि इन्द्रले प्रसन्न भएर वरदान माग भने यवकृतले विद्वान् बन्न सक्नु भने। जवाफमा इन्द्रले भन्नुभयो पढ्दा एकाग्रता चाहिन्छ। त्यो त तिमीमा रहेछ। अब यसैको भरमा अध्ययन गर। किनकि धन र ऐश्वर्य वरदानबाट पाइने भएता पनि विद्या चाहिँ पाइँदैन। यसको निम्ति पलेटी कसेर अध्ययन गर्नेपर्छ। तर इन्द्रको भनाईले यवकृतको चित्त बुझेन। उनी दोश्रोपल्ट पनि तपस्या गर्ने तरखरमा लागे। यसपल्ट भने इन्द्रले अर्कै जुक्ति निकाले। उनी बुढा बाहुनको भेषमा नदीको किनारमा गए। त्यहाँ उनले एक-एक मुठी माटो पानीमा हाल्दै गरे। यवकृतले के गरको भनेर सोध्दा बुढाले भने "यहाँ पुल नभएकोले मानिसलाई पारी पुग्न साह्रै दुःख छ, त्यसैले एउटा पुल बनाउन खोजेको"। अनि यवकृतले भने "एक एक मुठी माटो हालेर, यस्तो ठूलो नदीमा बाँध बाँध्न खोज्ने तिमीभन्दा मुख को होला?" अनि बृद्धले भने, "पढेर जान्नुको साटो तपस्या गरेर ज्ञान विज्ञानको भण्डार भर्न खोज्ने तिमीभन्दा पनि म मुख हुँ र? (पौड्याल, २०३९, पृ. ९५-९६)।

छलछाँम गरेर विभिन्न व्यक्तिबाट विभिन्न बहुमूल्य वस्तु हासिल गर्ने कार्यमा पनि इन्द्र अग्रपंक्तिमै पर्दछन्। महाभारतको युद्धमा अर्जुनको जीतको लागि कर्णसँग कानको कुण्डल माँग्न होस् वा प्रल्हादसँग उनकै शरीरभित्रका असल गुणहरू, कुनै पनि कुरामा देवराज इन्द्र हच्केको पाइँदैन। हिरण्यकशिपुका विष्णुभक्त छोरा प्रल्हादले एकपल्ट स्वर्ग

जिते। इन्द्रले आफ्नो राज्य हार्नुपन्यो। देवताहरूका गुरु वृहस्पतिको सल्लाहअनुसार इन्द्र दानवहरूका गुरु शुक्राचार्यलाई भेट्न स्वर्ग गए। शुक्राचार्यले तीनै लोकमा सबैभन्दा धर्मात्मा र योग्य व्यक्ति प्रल्हाद भएकोले उनी स्वर्गको राजा हुन योग्य छन् भन्ने कुरा इन्द्रलाई बताए। प्रल्हादबाट विभिन्न गुणहरू सिक्न ब्राह्मण केटोको भेषमा इन्द्र प्रल्हाद कहाँ चेलाको रूपमा बसे। प्रल्हादबाट दैनिक र आत्मिक ज्ञान प्राप्त गरे। चेलाको एकाग्रता र भक्तिबाट प्रभावित भएर प्रल्हादले ब्राह्मण भेषमा आएका इन्द्रलाई वरदान माग्न भने। चेलाले गुरुका सम्पूर्ण राम्रा गुणहरू मागे। गुरु प्रल्हादले 'हुन्छ' भन्ने वित्तिकै उनको शरीरबाट एउटा छायाँ निस्कियो र बालकको भेषमा रहेका इन्द्रको शरीरमा प्रवेश ग-यो। त्यसपछि क्रमशः दान, धर्म र यश पनि प्रल्हादको शरीरबाट निस्किएर बालकको भेषमा रहेका इन्द्रको शरीरमा प्रवेश ग-यो। प्रल्हादले पछि मात्रै धूर्त शिष्य तर इन्द्र नै भएको चाल पाए। त्यसै दिनदेखि प्रल्हादका राम्रा आचरणहरूमा हास आउन थाल्यो र इन्द्रको आनी बानी सप्रिदै गयो। महाभारतको शान्तिपर्वमा उल्लेख भएको यस कथाबाट आफुमा भएका असल गुणहरू सधैं त्यसै रहँदैनन्, त्यसको लागि निरन्तर प्रयत्न गर्नुपर्ने र चनाखो पनि बस्नुपर्ने हुन्छ भन्ने अति पाइन्छ।

सोमरस र इन्द्र

वेदमा विभिन्न प्रसंगमा सोमरसको उल्लेख आउँछ। देवराज इन्द्रलाई सोमरसका प्रेमीको रूपमा दर्शाइएको छ। इन्द्रका विभिन्न उपाधिहरूमध्ये एउटा उपाधि 'सोमपा' पनि हो। इन्द्रको पौष्टिक आहारको रूपमा सोमरसको उल्लेख ऋग्वेदमा छ (ऋग्वेद, ८,४)। अर्को एक उल्लेख यस्तो छ :

"हामी आफ्नो रक्षाको लागि इन्द्रलाई बोलाउँछौं। हे इन्द्र! तिम्री सोम पिउन त्रिषवण यज्ञमा आऊ। हाम्रा पुरोहित इन्द्रको स्तुति गर। हामी इन्द्रको कृपाले सुन्दर जीवन विताउँ ।" (ऋग्वेद, १-४)।

आर्यहरूकै प्रिय पेय सोमरस भएकोले वेदमा खुल्लारूपले यसको उल्लेख पाइन्छ। सोमरस दुर्लभ वा केही व्यक्तिले मात्रै पिउने पेयपदार्थ थिएन। गाग्रो भरी भरी सोमरस हुन्थ्यो। "सोमः चभुष" (१।२०।६)।

सोम छान्ने वस्तुद्वारा छानिन्थ्यो। ऋषि मधुच्छन्दा भन्छन्- इन्द्रलाई छानिएको सोम, स्वादिष्ट र मदिष्ट धाराले क्षरित होवोस्, ("स्वादिष्टया मदिष्टया पवस्व सोम धारया। इन्द्राय पातवे सुतः") हामीहरू सोम पिएर अमर भयौं ("अयाम सोमं अमृता भवेम")। यस्ता ऋचाहरू वेदमा थुप्रै पाइन्छन्। सोमरस बारे धेरै मनचिन्ते गफ पनि गरिएका पाइन्छन्। चन्द्रमालाई सोम पनि भनिन्छ। त्यसैले त्यो लतालाई सोमलता भनेर चन्द्रमा जस्तै घट्ने-बढ्ने प्रक्रियाको वर्णन पनि पाइन्छ। सोमलता चन्द्रमा जस्तै एक एक अंश बढेर पूर्णिमाको दिनमा अग्लो लता हुन्छ र विस्तारै घट्दै घट्दै अमावस्याको दिन सानो

हुन्छ भन्ने गफ एउटा यस्तै उदाहरण हो। वनस्पति जगतमा यस्तो विरूवा देखिएको छैन। राहुल सांकृत्यायनले सोमलाई भाङ भनेर यस्ताई बनाउने तरिकाको पनि वर्णन गर्नुभएको छ। तिब्बतमा अहिले पनि भाङलाई सोमराजा भनिन्छ। पठानहरू भाङलाई ओम भन्दछन्, जुन सोमको उच्चारण 'होम' भएर बनेको हो। सोममा दूध र मधु मिलाएर सोमरस तयार गरिन्थ्यो (राहुल सांकृत्यायन, ऋग्वेदिक आर्य, कि.म., पृ. ४८)।

ऋग्वेदको आठौं मण्डलमा सोमलाई यसो भनिएको छ, "अमाप सोमममृता अभूम अगन्म ज्योतिरविदाम देवान्" (ऋ. ८.४३.३) (हामीहरू सोम पिएर अमर भयौं, हामीले ज्योति पायौं, हामीले ईश्वर प्राप्त गर्-यौं)। यसरी वेदमा सोमरसको तुलना अमृतसँग गरेको देखिन्छ। सोमरस निकाल्न एक प्रकारको लहरा मात्रै प्रयोग नगरेर २४ प्रकारका विभिन्न वोट-विरूवा प्रयोग गरिने कुरा कपिल शास्त्रीले आफ्नो पुस्तक The Veda and the Tantra मा उल्लेख गर्नुभएको छ। तर सोमरसको नशाबारे भने उल्लेख पाइँदैन।

एम.पी. पण्डितले भने सोमरसका प्रकार र रंगको पनि वर्णन गर्नुभएको छ। उहाँका अनुसार पहाडमा उम्रिएका सोम विरूवा ल्याएर ढुंगाले थिच्ने र त्यसपछि हातका दशवटै औंलाले माडेपछि त्यसबाट निस्किएको छैरो रंगको सोमरसलाई पानीमा मिलाएर छानिन्थ्यो। यही क्रममा दूध, दही र मकैसँग मिलाएर सोमरस तयार गरिन्थ्यो। त्यसरी तयार पारेको सोमरसलाई क्रमशः गवाशिर सोम, सोमदधाशिर सोम, यमशिर सोम भनिन्थ्यो। छानिएको सोमरसलाई कलशमा राखेर गोरूको छालाले मुख बन्द गरिन्थ्यो र विशेष अवसरमा कचौरामा हालेर पिइन्थ्यो। (M.P. Pandit, Mustic Approach to the Veda and Upanishad, p.48-49)

सोमरसलाई कसैकसैले सुरा (रक्सी) सँग दाजेर त्यही वर्गमा राखेका छन्। तर त्यो तुलना गलत हो। वैदिक समयमा सोम पवित्र र परमग्राह्य थियो तर सुरालाई भने नराम्रो दृष्टिले हेरिन्थ्यो।

ऋग्वेदको तेश्रो मण्डलमा देवराज इन्द्रलाई सोमपानको लागि यसरी सम्बोधन गरिएको छ - "हे इन्द्र! गवाशिर (दूध-मिश्रित) सेतो सोम पिऊ। तिम्रो पदको लागि हामी यो कुरा (सोम) दिन्छौं। ब्रह्मकृत (मन्त्रकर्ता) मरुत्गण र रूद्रसँगै तृप्त हुन्जेल पिऊ। हे इन्द्र जसले तिम्रो बल, तेज बढाए, ती मस्त तिम्रो ओज पुजा गरून्। हे वज्रहस्त, सुशिप्र (सुमुकुट) रूद्र सहित, गणयुक्त मध्यान्हको पानमा सोम पिऊ, ।^३"

सोमरस पान गरेर इन्द्रले गरेका विभिन्न कार्यको उल्लेख पनि वेदमा पाइन्छ। "म (इन्द्र) मनु हुँ, म सूर्य हुँ, म विपु ऋषि कक्षिवान् हुँ। मैले अर्जुनपुत्र कुत्सको समर्थन गरे, म उशना कवि हुँ, मलाई तिमी हेर। मैले आर्यलाई भूमि दिएँ, मैले भक्त मर्दलाई वृष्टि दिएँ। गडगडाउने नदिलाई ल्याएँ। देवताहरू मेरो कल्पनाको अनुगमन गर्छन्। मैले सोमवार मस्त भएर शंवरको नौ सहित नब्बे (९९) गढीलाई ध्वस्त गरें। युद्धमा अतिथिग्व दिवोदासको रक्षा गरें, अनि सौवोलाई (उसलाई) प्रवेश योग्य बनाएँ ।^४ (राहुल सांकृत्यायन, १९५६, पृ. ४७१)।

इन्द्रको व्यक्तित्व

वेदमा ३३ वटा देवताको उल्लेख छ। पृथ्वीका ११, अन्तरिक्षका ११ र स्वर्गका ११। यीमध्ये इन्द्र अन्तरिक्षका देवता हुन्।

वेद र पुराणमा भएको इन्द्रको वर्णन अनुसार इन्द्र,

- १) वर्षाका देवता
 - २) उर्वरा शक्तिका देवता
 - ३) युद्धको देवता
 - ४) दिक्पालको रूपमा पूर्व दिशाका मालिक
- आदि विभिन्न रूपमा वर्णित छन्।

युद्ध र वर्षाको देवताको रूपमा चिनिने इन्द्रलाई Hopkins ले उर्वराशक्तिको देवता भनेर वर्णन गरेका छन्। उनले इन्द्र र उर्वराशक्तिको सम्बन्ध देखाउन पूर्व र उत्तरवैदिककाल र महाकाव्यकालमा प्रयोग भएका शब्दको सहारा लिएका छन्। पाकशासन (अन्न नियन्त्रक?) शब्दले संबोधित इन्द्रको जात्रा पनि खेतीपाती र उर्वराशक्तिसँग सम्बन्धित देखिन्छ न कि विजयसँग। त्यसैले Hopkins ले इन्द्रलाई उर्वराशक्ति र युद्धको देवता भनेर सँगसँगै व्याख्या गरेका हुन्। वैदिक साहित्यबाहेक अन्य साहित्यमा र भारतवर्षबाहेक अन्य देशमा पनि इन्द्र प्रसिद्ध छन्।

प्राचीन इरानी साहित्यमा इन्द्रलाई राक्षस भनेर वर्णन गरिएको छ। यो विषयवस्तुलाई विभिन्न ढंगले वर्णन गर्न सकिन्छ। Martin Haug ले यसलाई देवधर्म र असुरधर्मबीचको द्वन्द्व भनेर व्याख्या गरेका छन्। यसै गरेर अन्य केही विद्वान्ले इन्द्रको सोमरसप्रतिको प्रेमलाई नै आसुरी प्रवृत्ति भनेर व्याख्या गरेका छन्।

रमानाथ सरस्वतीका अनुसार वेद-पुराण आदिमा वर्णित वृत्रासुर असिरिया, सीरिया वा श्यामको दलपति थिए पारसीहरूको 'अवेस्ता' अनुसार वेवीलोन नगरमा आर्यजाति शून्य गराउन वृत्रले अद्विसुर देवीको उपासना गरे परन्तु प्रयत्न असफल भयो। अन्तमा आर्य इन्द्रले वृत्रलाई मारि छाडे वृत्र आर्यको घोर शत्रु थियो यो अति प्राचीन कथा हो। पछि अनार्यहरूले यसै कथाको आधारमा इन्द्रमाथि लान्छना लगाउन लागे। त्यही कुरा पछि इन्द्रको कथामा पनि जोडिन लाग्यो र नाना अपवाद चले (भट्टराई, मूर्तिकला, २०४१, पृ.१०८)।

वेदमा वर्णित इन्द्रको व्यक्तित्व बारे अध्ययन गर्दा के देखिन्छ भने यिनी आर्य जातिका बहादुर लडाकु थिए जसलाई पछि युद्धको देवताको उपाधि प्रदान गरियो। यो प्रसंगलाई R.N. Dandekar ले पनि स्विकार्नु भएको छ ।^४

महाभारत ग्रन्थका मुख्य नायक वासुदेव कृष्ण र वैदिक देवता इन्द्रको बेलाबेलामा परेको खटपटका प्रसंग वैष्णव पुराणहरूमा भेटिन्छन्। कृष्णले देवराज इन्द्रको पूजा नगर्न गोकुलवासीलाई सल्लाह दिएपछि इन्द्र रिसाएर घनघोर वर्षा गरेको, त्यो वर्षाबाट गोकुल र गोकुलवासीहरूको रक्षा गर्न कृष्णले गोवर्धन पहाड नै उचालेको वर्णन वैष्णव ग्रन्थहरूमा

पाइन्छन्। (श्रीमद्भागवत्- महापुराण द्वितीय खण्ड, मुनिलाल (अनु.) गीता प्रेस, पृ. ३३८-३४५)।

इन्द्र र कृष्णको यो प्रसंगलाई विभिन्न विद्वान् विदुषीहरूले आफ्नो पुस्तकमा महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान दिएका छन्। निवेदिताले आफ्नो पुस्तकमा यस प्रसंगको यसरी वर्णन गरेकी छिन्। कृष्णको अनुरोधमा वर्षाका देवता इन्द्रलाई गोकुलवासीले बली दिन बन्द गरे। कृष्णले आफ्ना गाउँवासीहरूलाई सम्झाउँदै भने पुजा गर्ने नै भए यस गोवर्धन पहाड, गाई र बहरको पूजा गर, यिनले तिम्रो कृषिमा महत्त गर्दछन् (Nivedita, 1972, p. 173-75)

वैदिक देवताहरूको महत्त्वमा हास र पौराणिक देवताहरूको उत्थानको समयको आभास इन्द्र यज्ञ भंग, गोवर्धनको पूजा इत्यादि प्रसंगबाट थाहा पाइन्छ।

सत्रौं शताब्दिमा दक्षिण भारतीय कविले कृष्णलाई 'इन्द्रको घमण्ड दमन गर्ने' भन्ने उपाधि दिएर कविताको रचना गरेका छन्। हिन्दु धर्मका मुख्य देवताको रूपमा कृष्ण पूजिन थालेपछि, इन्द्रका केही उपाधि जस्तो 'गोविन्द,' 'केशीनीसुदन' आदि कृष्णतर्फ हस्तान्तरित भएको देखिन्छ (Dandekar, 1979, p.198).

इन्द्रका १४ वटा नामहरू छन् - १) विश्वमुक्त, २) विपश्चित, ३) विभु, ४) प्रभु, ५) शिखी, ६) मनोजव, ७) तेजस्वी, ८) वलि, ९) अद्भुत, १०) त्रिदिव, ११) सुशान्ति, १२) सुकीर्ति, १३) ऋतधाता र १४) दिवस्पति।

यी १४ इन्द्र क्रमशः एउटा मन्वन्तरमा भोग गर्दछन्। आजकल सातौं तेजस्वी इन्द्रको अधिकार छ (राणा प्रसाद शर्मा, १९८६, पृ. ५०)।

सृष्टिको आयु नाप्नको लागि हिन्दु मान्यता अनुसार युग, मन्वन्तर, एवं कल्प -यी तीनवटा मुख्य मान उल्लिखित छन् चार युग (कृत (सत्य), त्रेता, द्वापर र कलि) को एक महायुग (४३२०००० वर्ष) ७१ महायुगको एक मन्वन्तर एवं १४ मन्वन्तरको एक कल्प हुन्छ। जम्मा १४ मन्वन्तर छन्। चार युग जोडेर ४३२०००० वर्षको एक 'महायुग' बन्छ। प्रत्येक मन्वन्तरमा ७१ महायुगभन्दा केही बढी वर्ष हुन्छन् (राजवली पाण्डे, १९८८, पृ. ४९७)। यसरी इन्द्रको अधिकार हुने वर्षहरूको उल्लेख ग्रन्थहरूमा भेटिन्छ। अमरकोशमा इन्द्रका ३५ नामको पनि उल्लेख छ ।^६ १) इन्द्र, २) मरुत्वत्, ३) मधवन्, ४) विडौजस्, ५) पाकशासन, ६) वृद्धश्रवस्, ७) सुनासीर ८) पुरुहूत, ९) पुरन्दर, १०) जिष्णु, ११) लेखर्षभ, १२) शुक्र, १३) शतमन्यु, १४) दिवस्पति, १५) सुगामन्, १६) गोत्रभिद्, १७) वग्निन्, १८) वासव, १९) वृगहन, २०) वृषन्, २१) वास्तोष्पति, २२) सुरपति, २३) वलाराति, २४) शचीपति, २५) जन्मभेदिन्, २६) हरिहय, २७) स्वाराट्, २८) नमुचिसुदन, २९) संकन्दन, ३०) दुश्च्यवन, ३१) तुराषाट, ३२) मेघवाहन, ३३) आखण्डल, ३४) सहस्राक्ष, ३५) ऋभुक्षन्।

उपसंहार

वैदिक देवता इन्द्रको प्रभुत्व वेदमा जताततै देखिन्छ। एक इश्वरवाद (Monotheism) र बहुइश्वरवाद (Polytheism) दुवैको अस्तित्व भएका मन्त्रहरू वेदमा प्रशस्तै छन्। यो

बाहेक जर्मन विद्वान् Max Muller ले भने कुनै एक निश्चित समयसम्म कुनै एउटा वैदिक देवताको प्रभुत्व र अर्को समयमा भने अर्कै देवताको प्रभुत्व रहने विचार व्यक्त गरेका छन्। यस प्रक्रियालाई उनले (Henotheism) भनेर व्याख्या गरेका छन्।

ऋग्वेदको यस मन्त्रले भने विभिन्न ईश्वरका बेग्लाबेग्लै नाम भएर पनि एउटै ईश्वरको अस्तित्व स्वीकार गरेको छ।

इन्द्रं मित्रं वरूणम् अग्निम् आहुर

अथो दिव्यः स सुपर्णे गरूत्मान्

एकं सद् विप्रा बहुधा वदन्त्यग्निं

यमं मातरिश्वानमु आहु। (ऋ. १।१६४।४६, अ. १।१०।२८)

विभिन्न देशका प्राचीन आख्यानहरूमा एउटा कुराको समानता भने पाइन्छ। बहादुर व्यक्ति (Hero) र उड्ने नाग (dragon) को प्रतिस्पर्धा विभिन्न धार्मिक आख्यानमा विभिन्न ढंगले व्याख्या भएको छ।^९ त्यसैले वेदमा वर्णन गरिएका इन्द्र र वृत्रको युद्धलाई पनि यसै अन्तर्गत लिन सकिन्छ।

नाग (सर्प) पूजक जाति (अनार्य) र नाग अपूजक जाति (आर्य) बीचको द्वन्द्व नै इन्द्र र राक्षससँगको युद्धको रूपमा दृष्टिगोचर हुन्छ। ए.पी. करमाकरको विचार अनुसार मोहन जोदारोका छाप (seals) मा नाग सम्प्रदायको विगविगी प्रष्ट देखिन्छ। त्यसैले इन्द्र र वृत्रको युद्धले सांकेतिक रूपमा आर्य र नागको द्वन्द्वलाई दर्शाउँछ।

केही विद्वानहरूका अनुसार विस्तारै विस्तारै आर्य र अर्ध आर्यहरू नागपूजक भए तर इन्द्रपूजक जमातले कहिले पनि नाग पूजा गरेनन्। के. रोन्नो पनि यो विचारसँग सहमत छन् (K. Ronnow, Acta Orientalia XVI, 161-180).

पूर्व वैदिककालमा आर्यहरूको जीवन सामान्य अवस्थामा पशुपालन, व्यापार आदि क्रियाकलापमा र असामान्य अवस्थामा बेग्लाबेग्लै समुहमा मुठभेड, प्राकृतिक प्रकोपबाट बच्ने उपाय आदि क्रियाकलापमा व्यतीत हुन्थ्यो। पूजा-उपासना, युद्धको नेतृत्व वा सफलता, वर्षा र उर्वरा शक्ति बढाउने जस्ता महत्वपूर्ण कार्यमा इन्द्रको स्मरण गरिनु आवश्यक मानिन्थ्यो। वेदमा विभिन्न महत्वपूर्ण देवताहरूको तुलनामा इन्द्रको गुणगान बढी नै पाइन्छ। इन्द्रको यो स्थान परवर्तीकालमा पनि यथावत् रहेकोले हिन्दूहरू सधैं इन्द्रको व्यक्तित्व र प्रभावबाट प्रभावित भएको देखिन्छ।

बौद्ध धर्मग्रन्थमा पनि इन्द्रको उल्लेख पाइन्छ। आठ दिक्पालहरू मध्ये इन्द्र पनि एक हो। देवताका राजा इन्द्र त्रयत्रिम्स स्वर्गमा बस्दछन्। त्रयत्रिम्स स्वर्ग प्राकृतिक सौन्दर्य र सुन्दर अप्सराहरूले भरिएको छ। स्वर्गमा एउटै दुःख छ, त्यो हो बेलाबेलामा राक्षससँग युद्ध गर्नु पर्दछ (Shakya, 1993, p.63) .

यसरी हिन्दू र बौद्ध दुवै धर्ममा इन्द्रको उच्च स्थान छ।

इन्द्रको प्रतिमा लक्षण

हात - २, ४

शिर - १

आँखा - २, ३ (सम्पूर्ण अंगमा आँखा)

रंग - सेतो र सुनौलो रंग

वाहन - चारवटा दाँत भएको ऐरावत हात्ती

आयुध - दधीचिको हाडबाट बनेको वज्र, अंकुश

इन्द्र: पारिवारिक र घरायसी परिवेश तथा प्रयोगका वस्तुहरू

माता : अदिति

पिता : कश्यप, ब्रह्मा, प्रजापति, विश्वपुरूष

पत्नी : इन्द्राणी, शची (पौलोमी), प्रसहा

पुत्र : क) कुन्तीबाट अर्जुन ख) अरुण (आरूणी) बाट वाली ग) पाकशासनी घ)

जयन्त ड) कुत्स (अदुर्भ)

भाई : अग्नि (जुम्ल्याहा भाई), पुषण, त्वष्ठा

त्वष्ठाका छोराहरू क) त्रिशिर (विश्वरूप) ख) वृत्रासुर

सारथी : मातलि, वायु

रथ : जैत्ररथ, विमान

शहर : अमरावती

दरवार : वैजयन्त प्रासाद

सभा : सुधर्मा

बगैचा : नन्दनवन

निवासस्थान : स्वर्ग

स्वर्गका रूख : मन्दार, पारिजात, सन्तान, कल्पवृक्ष, हरिचन्दन

घोडा : उच्चश्रवस

वाहन : ऐरावत हात्ती

धनु : इन्द्र धनुष

तरवार : परणजय (परंज)

आयुध : वज्र

पर्व : इन्द्रजात्रा

मनपर्ने पेय पदार्थ : सोमरस

प्रधान शत्रु : वृत्र, त्वष्ठा, नमत्रि, शंवर, वाण, वलि, विरोचना

टिप्पणी

१. नीलवस्त्रः सुवर्णमिः सर्वभरणवांस्तथा
निर्पगललाटगेनाक्षणा कर्तव्यश्च विभूषित
चतुर्दन्ते गजे शुक्रः श्वेतः कार्यः सुरेश्वरः
कामोत्संगता कार्या रक्षमाणा तथा शची (विष्णुधर्मोत्तर ५०।२-३)
२. सहस्रनयनं देवं मत्तवारणसंस्थितम्
पृथरूवक्षोवदनं सिंहस्कन्धं महाभुजम्।
किरीटकुण्डलधरं पीवशेरू भुजक्षणम्
वज्रोत्पलधरं तद्वन्नाभरणभूषितम् (मत्स्य. २५९।६६-६७)
३. गवाशिरं मन्थिनमिन्द्र शुक्रं पिचा सोमं ररिमाते मदाय
ब्रह्मकृता मारुतेना गणेन सजोषा रूद्रैस्तृपदा वृषस्व
ये ते शुवभं ये तविषिमवर्धनर्चन्तु इन्द्र मरुतस्त ओजः
माध्यन्दिने सवने वज्रहस्त पिवा रूद्रेभिःसगणः सुशिप्रः
(ऋग्वेद भाष्य, II, III, IV मण्डल, दयानन्द सरस्वती, २०२१, पृ. ३५२-३५३)
४. अहं मनुरभवं सूर्यचाङ्गं कक्षीकां ऋषिरस्मि विप्रः
अहं कुत्समार्जुनेयन्यूजेहं कविरूशना पश्यता मा
अहं भूमिमददामार्या याहं वृषिं दाशुषे मर्त्याय
अहमयो अनपं वावशाना मम देवासो अनु केतमापन्
अहं पुरो मन्दसानो व्यैरं नव साकन्नवतीः शम्बरस्य
शततमं वेश्यं सर्वताता दिवोदासमतिथिग्वं यदावं
(ऋग्वेद - ४-२६)

५. R.N. Dandekar, Vedic Muthologival Tracts, 1979, Delhi, P. 190-191.

“Indra the human hero who was transformed into war-god.”

६. इन्द्रके ३५ नाम, अमरकोश, मन्नालाल, पृ. ७।

७. R.N. Dandekar, Vedic Mythological Tracts, A.P. 1979, Delhi, P. 190-191.

“The various forms which this universal hero-dragon myth has taken in different ancient Mythologies are: Zeus and Typhon, Hercules and the Hydra, Apollo and Python, Thor and the Serpent, Marduk and Tiamat, Gilgames and Humbaba, Inmara and the Dragon, Thractaona and Azi Dahaka.” See also: Raglan, The Hero. London 1949 pp. 177-189.

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वाल्मिकी रामायण, गीताप्रेस, गोरखपुर, २०४५

महाभारत, गीताप्रेस, गोरखपुर, २०५३

ऋग्वेद भाष्य, दयानन्द सरस्वती (भाष्य), सार्वदेशिक आर्य प्रतिनिधिसभा, दिल्ली, सं.
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नभएको)

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श्रीवास्तव, बलराम, रूपमण्डन, मोतीलाल बनारसीदास, वाराणसी, २०२१

पाण्डे, राजवली, हिन्दू धर्मकोश, उ.प्र. हिन्दी सं., लखनऊ, १९८८

शर्मा, राणा प्रसाद, पौराणिक कोश, ज्ञानमण्डल लि., १९८६

दीक्षित, मदनमणि, त्यो युग, समीक्षा प्रकाशन, काठमाडौं, २०४६

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ज्योतिष ग्रन्थ “त्यो मत्यो” र त्यसमा परेको ने.सं. ४४३ को टिपोट

योगेश राज

१. नेपालका हस्तलिखित ज्योतिष ग्रन्थहरू

हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थहरूको नेपालको सबैभन्दा ठूलो संग्रहकर्ता राष्ट्रिय अभिलेखालयले प्रकाशित गरेको ज्योतिष विषयक ग्रन्थसूचीमा ७०१ वटा ग्रन्थहरू परेका देखिन्छन्।^१ यसमा लिपि वा भाषाले नेवारी भन्न सकिने १४६ शीर्षकका २५५ थान ग्रन्थ रहेको पाइन्छ। यस सूचीमा उल्लेखित सबैभन्दा पुरानो ग्रन्थ ने.सं. १९२ को वारिशस्त्रम् हो। केही समय अगाडि त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालय, शिक्षाध्यक्षको कार्यालयद्वारा गराइएको दुईवटा अनुसन्धानबाट राष्ट्रिय अभिलेखालयमा भेटाइएका कूल १७४५ वटा नेवारी ग्रन्थ मध्ये ज्योतिष विषयक जम्मा ११४ वटा ग्रन्थ पाइएका छन्। त्यसमध्ये संवत् खुलेका ४९ वटा छन् भने सबैभन्दा पुरानो चाहिँ ने.सं. ५४८ को ज्योतिराजकर्ण देखिन्छ।^२

यसबाहेक राष्ट्रिय पुस्तकालय, केशर पुस्तकालयमा पनि केही ज्योतिष विषयक ग्रन्थहरू रहेको कुरा तत्तत् स्थानका ग्रन्थसूचीहरूको अध्ययनबाट स्पष्ट हुन्छ।

निजी क्षेत्रमा नेपालको सबैभन्दा ठूलो हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थको संग्रह भनिने आशा सफूकुथिमा चाहिँ कूल १६९ वटा ज्योतिष ग्रन्थहरू रहेको देखिन्छ। त्यसमध्ये संवत् खुलेका ५५ वटा ग्रन्थहरूमध्ये सबैभन्दा प्राचीन चाहिँ ने.सं. ७२० को ज्योतिषफल हो। यसको भाषा संस्कृत, नेपालभाषा टिपिएको छ।^३

२. टिपोट गरेको ग्रन्थ परिचय

यो ग्रन्थ आशा सफूकुथिको रनिङ नम्बर २६१२ I तथा विषयगत सूचीमा ज्योति-६६ मा दरिएको ‘त्योमत्यो’ शीर्षकको ज्योतिष विषयक ग्रन्थ हो। ध्यासफूको रूपमा रहेको यस ग्रन्थमा प्रचलित नेपाल लिपिमा लेखिएको नेपाल भाषा (नेवारी) प्रयोग भएको छ। ग्रन्थमा जम्मा ३० पृष्ठ रहेका देखिन्छन् र ग्रन्थ अपूरो रहेको कुरा सफूकुथिको वर्णनात्मक सूचीमा उल्लेख गरिएको छ (वैद्य, १९९९: १५४)। ग्रन्थको अन्तिम दुई हरफमा ४ वटा ऋतुमध्ये तीनवटाको मात्र नाम उल्लेख परेर वाक्य टुंगिन गएकोले ग्रन्थ अपूर्ण रहेको तथ्य विश्वसनीय देखिन्छ। ग्रन्थमा ने.सं. ४४३ को एउटा

टिपोट परेकोले र सो टिपोटले पूर्वमध्यकालिक नेपालको एउटा ऐतिहासिक विवाद/अस्पष्टता टुंग्याउन सहायक हुन सक्ने देखिएकोले यो ग्रन्थको महत्व स्पष्ट देखिन्छ। त्यस बाहेक ज्योतिष शास्त्र सम्बन्धी मध्यकालको ज्ञान एवं त्यसको प्रचार आकन पनि यो ग्रन्थ अध्ययन गर्न उपयुक्त हुने देखिन्छ।

ग्रन्थका कुनै पनि पृष्ठमा पृष्ठ संख्या नदिइएकाले आदि, अन्त कहानेर भयो देखिदैन। ध्यासफूको रूपमा ग्रन्थ रहेकोले पृष्ठक्रम भने संदेहातीत नै छ। ग्रन्थका पहिला दुइ पृष्ठ र तेश्रो पृष्ठको पहिलो हरफसम्म सिद्धिकर्म, गृहप्रवेश, दिव्यादिन, मेखराबंधन, शिवस्थापना, त्रिपुरुषकर्म तथा तुलसी टिप्ने जस्ता काम गर्न हुने नहुने मुहूर्त बेलाको उल्लेख गरिएको छ। पृष्ठ ३ देखि पृष्ठ ६ सम्म अष्टविंशति योगको तालिका दिइएको छ। पृष्ठ ७ देखि पृष्ठ ९ सम्म सिद्धियोग, मृत्युयोग, अमृतसिद्धियोग, आनन्दयोग, ग्रह जन्म, दसोहोराको परिभाषा दिइएको छ। पृष्ठ १० मा ने.सं. ४४३ को टिपोटको साथसाथै तिथिलाई पाँच वर्गमा बाँडिएको तालिका देख्न सकिन्छ। पृष्ठ ११ र १२ मा भावफल तालिकाबद्ध गरिएको छ। पृष्ठ १३ र १४ मा लेखिएको कुरा अस्पष्ट नै रहेको छ भने पृष्ठ १५ देखि पृष्ठ २१ सम्म दिनमान र रात्रिमानका अष्टमांश बारबेलाफल दिइएका छन्। पृष्ठ २२ र २३ मा आठ दिशाको नाम तथा त्यस दिशाका देवीहरू एवं तिनको पूजा अर्चनाका (?) तिथिहरू उल्लेख भएका छन्। पृष्ठ २४ र २५ मा चारदिशा र दिशा पिच्छैका राशिहरू पनि उल्लेख गरिएको छ। पृष्ठ २६ र २७ मा दिशागमनका शुभ अशुभ साइत बेसाइत बेला दिइएको छ। पृष्ठ २८ को पाँचौं हरफपछि (स्वक) केबा उभ्याउने र त्यसपछि पृष्ठ २९ को तेश्रो हरफसम्ममा ढाल्ने कामको मुहूर्त भनेको देखिन्छ। त्यस्तै पृष्ठ २९ को हरफ २ मा बीउ रोप्ने मुहूर्त लेखिएको छ। ग्रन्थको अधिकांश भाग साइत बेसाइतकै कुरामा खपेको देख्दा कतै उल्लेख नभए तापनि ग्रन्थको शीर्षक 'त्योमत्यो' राखिनु उचितै देखिन्छ। ग्रन्थको देवनागरी लिप्यन्तरण परिशिष्ट १ मा दिइएको छ।

३. ग्रन्थमा परेको टिपोट र त्यसको प्रामाणिकता

प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थको पृष्ठ १० मा परेको ऐतिहासिक टिपोट यो हो-

१. १ सम्बत् ४४३ पौष शुक्लया नओमि शनिचरबाल ध्व कुन्हु श्री २ हरिसिंह
२. देव सिमांगरन षप द्वा विज्याक दिन जुरो।। शुभ।।

टिपोटको नेपाली अनुवाद यस्तो हुन्छ-

संवत् ४४३ पौष शुक्ल नवमी शनिश्चर बार यो दिन श्री २ हरिसिंहदेव सिम्रौनगढबाट भक्तपुर प्रवेश गर्नुभएको दिन भयो।। शुभ।।

यस टिपोटको विश्वसनीयता ग्रन्थको रचनाकालमा भर पर्ने कुरा स्पष्ट छ। ने.सं. ४४३ को टिपोट परेर पनि प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ त्यति पुरानो होइन भन्ने तथ्य ग्रन्थको स्वरूप र प्रयुक्त लिपिले ईंगित गर्दछ। अहिलेसम्म पाइएका ने.सं. ५०० पूर्वका सबैजसो ग्रन्थहरू ताडपत्रमा लेखिएका र तिनमा भुजिमोल वा रञ्जना लिपिको प्रयोग भएको देखिएकोले त्यसो भन्नु परेको हो।

प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थको रचनाकाल निक्कै गर्नु यहाँ भाषिक अध्ययन गरिएको छ (परिशिष्ट २ हेर्नुहोस्)। यहाँ प्रयुक्त अध्ययन विधिलाई "भाषिक अन्तः साक्ष्य" नाउँ दिनु उपयुक्त हुनेछ, जुन निम्न दुईवटा प्रस्थापनामा आधारित छ-

क) ग्रन्थमा प्रयोग गरिने शब्द संग्रह ग्रन्थ रचनाकालको प्रचलित शब्दावलिभित्र पर्दछन्।

ख) कुनै शब्दको हिज्जे दुई ग्रन्थमा समान भेटिन्छ भने

१. त्यो शब्द त्यस भाषिक समुदायको स्थिर-पवित्र शब्दावलि भित्र पर्दछ, अथवा

२. ती दुई ग्रन्थ समकालिक रचना हुन्।

प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थमा प्रयुक्त अधिकांश शब्दको स्वरूप आरम्भिक उत्तरमध्यकालको देख्न सकिन्छ। यताबाट यो ग्रन्थको रचना ने.सं. ६०० आसपास भएको हुनुपर्ने अनुमान गर्ने बलियो प्रमाण फेला पर्दछ।

४. टिपोटको महत्व

पूर्वमध्यकालको इतिहासमा रहेका मतमतान्तरहरूमध्ये राजा हरसिंहदेवको नेपाल खाल्डो प्रवेश पनि एक हो। शक १२४५ को शिशिरमा (अर्थात् ने.सं. ४४३ पौष शुदि ९ रविवार) गयासुद्दीन तुगलकको फौजले सिम्रौनगढ ध्वस्त पारिदिएपछि हरसिंहदेव सपरिवार पहाडतिर पसेको कुरामा उत्तिको विवाद देखिँदैन (लेवी: २०४०, ४१)। ने.सं. ४४६ माघ शुदि ३ को दिन उल्लेख गरी सिम्रौनगढ ध्वस्त पारिएको र राजा मन्त्री सबै उठी भागेको कुरा गोपालराजवंशावलीमा भेटिन्छ (पत्र ४६)। यसै मिति अन्तर्गतको एउटै अनुच्छेदमा केही कालपछि (सिम्रौनगढ?) पसेको र केही कालपछि राजग्राम दोलखामा आउँदा टिंपाटमा राजा हरसिंहदेवको मृत्यु भएको एवं यिनका छोरा, मन्त्री दुवै कैद गरिएको, परिवार पनि समातिएको र राजग्रामका मझि भारोले जम्मै धन हात लगाएको कुरा पनि उल्लेख गरिएको छ। यस टिपोटका आधारमा हरसिंहदेवले आफ्नो राजधानी फेरि हात पार्ने प्रयत्न गर्दागर्दै टिंपाटमा प्राण त्यागेको कुरामा थुप्रै इतिहासकारहरूले विश्वास गरेको देखिन्छ (वज्राचार्य आदि, २०१९: २३२-३६; नेपाल, २०५४: १६४; वज्राचार्य र मल्ल, २०४१: xvii) यो टिंपाट दोलखा भेगको एउटा ठाउँ हो भन्ने कुरा पनि विवादरहित मानिएको देखिन्छ (नेपाल, २०४०, परिशिष्ट छ)। तर सिम्रौनगढको विनाश र हरसिंहदेवको मृत्युको समय बीचको भण्डै डेढ वर्षमा उनी नेपाल खाल्डो पस्नै पाएनन् भन्ने कुरा नपत्याउने इतिहासकारहरू पनि भएका छन्।

(पौडेल, २०२०: ३० पादटिप्पणी; मुनकर्मि, २०५५: ३०)। हरसिंहदेवको नेपाल प्रवेशलाई 'कथा' मान्ने इतिहासकारहरूले आफ्नो कुरा साबित गर्न गोपालराजवंशावलीको माथि उल्लिखित टिपोट अघि सारेका देखिन्छन्। साथै डोय वा तिरहुतले वि.सं. १३५६ देखि १३७० सम्मको अवधिमा पटक पटक नेपाल विजय गरेको तथ्यले पछिल्ला वंशावलीकार एवं मल्ल राजाहरूलाई उपरोक्त कथा पटक पटक दोहोर्‍याएर लेख्न प्रेरित गरे भन्ने विचार पनि व्यक्त गरेको देखिन्छ (नेपाल, २०५१-५२, २७-२८)। हरसिंहदेव नेपाल खाल्डो भित्र पसेका थिए भनेर बिचारने इतिहासकारहरूले पनि गोपालराजवंशावलीको सोही टिपोटमा परेको ग्वल शब्दलाई देउपाटन मानेर व्याख्या गरेका थिए (पेटेक, २०१४: ११२)। अहिले पेटेकले आत्मसंशोधन गरेको देखिएपछि (पेटेक, २०४०: ११५) हरसिंहदेव नेपाल पस्न नपाउँदै दोलखाको तीन पाटन भन्ने ठाउँमा स्वर्गे गए भन्ने पक्षमा बहुमत देखिएको छ। तर अहिलेसम्म प्रकाशमा नआएको यो ने.सं. ४४३ को टिपोटले गोपालराजवंशावलीको उपरोक्त टिपोटको नौलो व्याख्या गर्नुपर्ने भेटिएको छ।

५. टिपोटको प्रकाशमा नयाँ व्याख्या

शक १२४५ को शिशिरमा गयासुद्दीन तुगलकको फौजले सिम्रौनगढ ध्वस्त पारेपछि राजा हरसिंहदेव सपरिवार पहाड पसे। तिनको गन्तब्य नेपाल दून थियो। तात्कालिन भक्तपुरको त्रिपुर राजकुल देवलदेवीको माइत थियो। यताबाट संकट परेको बेला राजा हरसिंहदेवले भक्तपुर आई सहायता लिन खोज्नु स्वाभाविक देखिन्छ। पौष शुक्ल नवमी शनिबारका दिन अथवा त्यो भन्दा केही दिन अघि ती भक्तपुर आइपुगे। प्रस्तुत टिपोट र परम्पराले यस कुराको पुष्टि गर्दछ।

केही कालपछि (निश्चय नै रुद्र मल्लको मृत्यु पूर्व नै) हरसिंहदेव पुनः सिम्रौनगढ प्राप्त गर्न दोलखा भएर तराई भरे तर सकेनन् र यो पल्ट पनि उनले पहाड पस्नु पर्‍यो। देवलदेवी सम्भवतः भक्तपुर मै रहिन्। गोपालराजवंशावलीको टिपोटमा रानी कैदमा परेको उल्लेख नहुनाले यस्तो अनुमान लाउन सकिन्छ।

केही कालपछि (संभवतः भक्तपुर आइपुग्ने उपक्रममा) दोलखा आइपुग्दा हारेका, थाकेका हरसिंहदेवको मृत्यु भयो। यिनका छोरा, मन्त्री कैद गरिए। राजग्रामका भन्नी भारोले जम्मे धन हात लगाए।

दोलखामा घटेको दुर्घटना विवरण भक्तपुर त्रिपुर राजकुलसम्म आइपुग्न केही समय अवश्य लागेको हुनुपर्छ। त्यसरी नै मृत राजाका छोरा र मन्त्रीलाई भन्नी भारोकहाबाट छुटाउने अभियानमा केही समय बितेको हुनुपर्छ। तिनलाई सकुशल भक्तपुर ल्याइपुर्‍याएपछि मात्र गोपालराजवंशावलीका वंशावलीकारले घटना विवरण टिप्नु संभव छ। यो टिपोटको दिन ने.सं. ४४६ माघ शुक्ल तृतीया थियो। यस्तो ऐतिहासिक

व्याख्या सत्यको नजिक पुगेको के बाट थाहा लाग्छ भने यस दृष्टिले उपलब्ध ऐतिहासिक साक्ष्यहरू बीच अहिलेसम्म रहिरहेको अन्तर्विरोध सुल्भिन्छ।

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थहरू

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- ख. हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थहरूको सूचीपत्र भाग ३, ज्योतिष विषयको खण्ड २, सम्पादक देवी प्रसाद भण्डारी, प्रकाशक नेपाल राष्ट्रिय पुस्तकालय, वि.सं. २०२२।
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- द गोपालराजवंशावली, सम्पादकहरू धनवज्र वज्राचार्य र कमल प्रकाश मल्ल, प्रकाशक फ्रान्ज स्टाइनेर फेलग, विस्वादेन गेएम्बेहा. सं १९८५।
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परिशिष्ट १

देवनागरीमा लिप्यान्तरण

पृ. १

१. सिद्धिकर्मयाय, ध्वतेसतेव॥ नक्षत्र॥ हस्त, पुष्य, चित्रा, स्वाति, अनुराध,
२. असुनि, रेवति, श्रवन, धनेष्ट, मृगशिरा,॥ वार,॥ बृहस्पति, श्वम, बुध॥ ध्व
३. ते दिस, सिद्धिकर्मयायतेव॥ ॥ छेतेर, ध्वतेदिनसतेव॥ नक्षत्र॥
४. हस्त, मु (?) र, पुष्य, धनेष्ट, पुनवसु, मघ, सतभिष स्वाति, लोहिनी, रेवति, श्र
५. वण, मृगशिरा॥ बाल॥ स्वोम, बुध, वृह, शनि,॥ ध्वतेदिनसगृहप्रवेसतेव॥
६. ॥ ॥ दिव्यादिनध्वतेसतेव॥ नक्षत्र॥ शतभिष, पुष्य, अनुराध, मृगशिरा
७. रेवति, उन्नमद्रः। बाल।। आदित्य, अंगाल, बुधः।। ध्वतेसतेव॥ ॥ मेखरा

पृ. २

१. वंधनध्वतेसतेव॥ नक्षत्र॥ हस्त, पूष्य, चित्रा, रेवति, स्वाति, असुनि, शवण, ज्ये
२. ष्ठ, पुर्णवसु, धनेष्ट॥ बाल॥ सोम, बुध, बृहस्पतिः॥ ध्वतेसकस्ता (?) विय
३. तवदि
४. न॥ ॥ शिवस्थापनदिनध्वतेसतेव॥ नक्षत्र॥ रोहिनि, मृगशिरा, उत्त पु
५. ष्ये, अनुराध, शतभिष, रेवती॥ बाल॥ बुध, शुक्र, बृहस्पति। ध्वतेदिन
६. स तेवे॥ ॥ त्रिपुरुषकर्मयायध्वतेसतेव॥ नक्षत्र, पुनवशु, विशा
७. ष उत्त॥ बाल॥ अंगाल, बृहस्पति, शनिचल॥ ॥ तुसिद्धोयमतेव
८. दिन, ध्वतेस॥ एकादशि, अमास्याद्वादशि, चतुदशि, शक्रान्ति।। वार।। अ

पृ. ३

१. दित्य, अष्टमि, ध्वतेसतुलाशिद्धोयमतेव॥ ७॥.....॥
२. अस्ताविसति जोग ।।
३. आ, श्व, अं, वु, वृ, शु, श
४. आन = अ, मृ, अ, ह, अ, उ, श धनराभ,
५. काल = भ, आ, म, चि, जो, अ, पु, राभ,
६. धुमो = कृ, पु, पू, स्वा, मु, श्र, उ धननास,
७. प्रजा = रो, ष्ये, उ, चि, पु, ध, ले सुभ,

पृ. ४

१. सौम्व, मृ, अ, भ, अ, उ, श, अ, सिद्धि,
२. ध्वाज, आ, म, वि, ज्ये, अ, पु, भ, असुभ भय
३. ध्वज, पु, पू, स्वा, मु, श, उ, कृ, वर्स्तराभ,
४. श्रीव, ष्य, उ, वि, पु, ध, रे, ला रनराभ,
५. वज्र, अ, भ, अ, उ, श, अ, मृ, कथिन

६. मुग म, चि, ज्ये, अ, पु, भ, आ, मृत्युभय
७. छत्र पु, स्वा, मु, श्र, उ, कृ, पु, सष्टुनास

पृ. ५

१. मित्र, उ, चि, पु, ध, रे, रो, ष्य, सर्व्वसिद्धि
२. मान, ह, अ, उ, श, अ, मृ, अ, मानेच्चा () राभ,
३. पद्म, वि, ज्ये, अ, पु, भ, आ, म, इस्तराभ,
४. अनं, स्वा, मु, श्र, उ, कृ, पु, पू, अर्थराभ
५. उत्था, वि, पु, ध, रे, रो, ष्य, उ, वचनराभ,
६. मृतु, अ, उ, श, अ, मृ (?), अ, ह, मृतराभ,
७. काल, ज्य, अ, पू, भ, आ, म, चि, । लोगभय,
पृ. ६

१. पू, भ, आ, म, चि, ज्ये, अ, आचाल,
२. चल उ, कृ, पु, पू, स्वा, मु, श्र, प्रवेश,
३. त्विरे रे, लो, उ, उ, वि, पू, ध, सर्व्वराभ,
४. प्रवेस आ, श्व, अ, वु, वृ, शु, श
पृ. ७

१. ध्वतेलातडावशिद्धियोगधाय॥ हस्त, आदित्वाले, रोहि, सोमव, मूल,
२. व, अंगालव, मृगशिराव, वुधव, पुष्ये, बृहस्पतिव, श्रवणव, शुक्रव, मघ
३. व, शणिश्चलव, ध्वतेनषालातडावसिद्धिजोगधायः॥ ॥ ध्वतेनप
४. लातडावमृत्तुजोग॥ अनराधव, आदित्यबालव, उत्राखाधव, स्वमव,
५. शतभिखव, अंगालव, असुशिव, वुधव, मृगशिराव, बृहस्पतिव, असल्ये
६. खव, शुक्रव, हस्तव, शणिश्चव,॥ ॥ ध्वतेलातडाव, मृत्तुयोगधायः॥ ॥
७. ध्वतेलातडावअमृतसिद्धिजोगधाय॥ आदित्यव, हस्तव, बृहस्पतिव,
पृ. ८

१. पुष्यव, बुधव, अनुराध, सनिश्चरव, रोहिनि, स्वमव, स्वातिव, शुक्रव, रेवति
२. अंगालव, आशिवव॥ ध्वतेलातडावअमृतसिद्धिजोगधाय॥ ॥ ध्वतेलात
३. डाव आनन्दजोगधाय॥ असुणिव, आदित्यव, मृगशिलाव, सोमव, असल्यख
४. व, अंगालव, हस्तव, वुधव, अनुराधव, बृहस्पतिव, उत्राखाधव, शुक्रव, शतभि
५. खव, शणिचलव॥ ध्वतेलातडाव, आनन्द जोगधाय॥ ॥ ध्वतेग्रहजन्म
६. धाय॥ भरणि, आदित्यवार, चित्रा, सोमवार, उत्तराष, अंगालबाल,
७. धनेस्था, वुधवार, उ(त्त) रफाल्यु, बृहस्पतिवाल, ज्येष्ठा, शुक्रवार, रेव
पृ. ९

१. शनैश्चरवार,॥ ध्वतेनक्षत्रवारलातडावगृहजर्म्म॥ ॥ ध्व
२. तेलातडावदसोहोराधाय॥ जेष्टशुके, दशभि, हस्तणक्षत्रे, अं

३. गालवार,॥ ध्वतेलातडावदशोहोरालाकधायः॥ ॥ श्रीग
४. णेसायनमः॥ श्रीसलश्वत्यैनमः॥ श्रीभवात्यैनमः॥ शुभ॥

पृ. १०

१. सम्बद् ४४३ पौषशुक्लयागओमिशनिचरवाल, ध्वकुन्हुश्री २ हरिसिंह
२. देवसिमांगरन षपट्टहाविज्याकदिनजुरो॥ शुभ॥

३. नन्द्रा भद्र जया रिक्ता पूर्णा

४. प्र छि तृ च पं

५. ष स अ न द

६. ए दृ त्र व पू

पृ. ११/१२

लाजाविलाधं	महात्रासं	निस्फलं	रोजाविराधं	महात्रासं	निम्फलं
अर्थसंपत्ति	प. () वायु ने दृ आ	दुदिनं	मृदसे मृत्यु	छि (?) वा	अर्थलाभं
वधुदर्शनं	लाभं	वषर्ष	वारकमृत्	नृपमरनं	प्रियदर्शनं



आजावियदं	महात्रासं	निस्फलं	आगमनं	पुत्रराभं	निस्फलं
गभदुषनं	छिवा	स्त्रीलाभं	शुद्धदं	(?) वा	शिवं
नृपनभित	मघनिलं	धनलाभं	आल	(?) मशिववा	महाशिवं

पृ. १३/१४

६	१०	१२	अंगुष्ठादौविजानी	८	२
सु	चं	आ	चा देकदिकतिथि		
४	५	७	संख्यया २ तज्जनीद्धि		
वु	वृ	स	नस रूद्रात्या मघमा		
२	३	१	४ अशिवन		

सो प आ

पृ. १५

१. अं रोगवेरा, घति	४ वु रा - - - घति
२. आ उदगवेरा, घति	४ आ उदग, वेरा, घति
दिनवेला, ध्व। ।	रात्रिवेरा, स्व। ।
३. चं १ अमृत्र, बेरा, घति	४ चं अमृ, बेरा, घ
४. श काल बेरा, घति	४ शु चल, बेरा, घ
५. वृ - सु, भव्यला, घति	४ अं रोग, वेरा, घ
६. अं रोग बेरा, घति	४ श कार, वेरा, घ
७. आ उ देग बेरा, घति,	४ वु राभ, बेरा, घ

पृ. १६

१. शु चल वेरा, घति	४ आ उदेग, वेरा, घ
२. राभवेरा, घति	४ वृ शुभ, वेरा, घ
३. अष्टवेरा, घति	४ चं अमृ, बेरा, घ

पृ. १७

१. दिनवेरा॥ अं॥	१ रात्रिवेरा॥ अं॥
२. अं रोग॥ बेरा॥ घति॥	अं रोग॥ बेरा॥ घति॥
३. आ उदे॥ बेरा॥ घति॥	श काल॥ बेरा॥ घति॥
४. शु चर॥ बेरा॥ घति॥	वु राभ॥ बेरा॥ घति
५. वु राभ॥ बेरा॥ घति॥	आ उदे॥ बेरा॥ घति
६. चं अमृ॥ बेरा॥ घति॥	वृ शुभ॥ बेरा॥ घति
७. श काल॥ बेरा॥ घति॥	चं अमृ॥ बेरा॥ घति
८. वृ शुभ॥ बेरा॥ घति॥	शु चल॥ बेरा॥ घति
९. अं रोग॥ बेरा॥ घति॥	अं रोग॥ बेरा॥ घति॥

पृ. १८

१. १ दिन बेरा॥ वुध॥	रात्रिबेरा॥ वुध॥
२. २ वु शभ॥ घति। बेरा॥ १	वु राभ॥ बेरा॥ घति॥
३. ३ चं काल॥ बेरा॥ घति॥ ३	आ उदे॥ बेरा॥ घति॥
४. ४ वृ रोग॥ बेरा॥ घति॥ ४	वृ शुभ॥
५. ५ अं उदे॥ बेरा॥ घति॥ ६	चं अमृ॥
६. ६. आ चल॥ बेरा॥ घति॥ ७	शु चर॥
७. ७ शु राभ॥ बेरा॥ घति॥ ८	श कार॥
८. वु १ अमृ॥ बेरा॥ घति॥ २	वु राभ॥

पृ. १९

१.	दिन बेरा॥ वृ॥	रात्री बेरा॥ वृ॥
२.	वृ शुभ॥ बेरा॥ घति	वृ शुभ॥ बेरा॥ घति
३.	अं रोग॥	चं अमृ॥
४.	आ उदे॥	शु चल॥
५.	शु चर॥	अं रोग॥
६.	वु राभ॥	श काल॥
७.	चं अमृ॥	वु राभ॥
८.	श काल॥	आ उदे॥
९.	वृ शुभ॥	वृ शुभ॥

पृ. २०

	दिन बेरा॥ शु॥	रात्रिबेरा॥ शु॥
१.	शु चल॥ बेरा॥ घति॥	शु (?) चर॥ बेरा॥ घति॥
२.	बु राभ॥	अं- रोग॥
३.	चं अमृ॥	श कार॥
४.	श काल॥	वु राभ॥
५.	वृ शुभ॥	आ उदे॥
६.	अं रोग॥	वृ शुभ॥
७.	आ उदे॥	चं अमृ॥
८.	शु चल॥	शु चर॥

पृ. २१

१.	दिन बेरा॥ श॥	रात्रिबेरा॥ श॥
२.	श काल॥ बेरा॥ घति॥	श कार॥ बेरा॥ घति
३.	वृ शुभ॥	वु राभ॥
४.	अं रोग॥	आ उदे॥
५.	आ उदे॥	वृ शुभ॥
६.	शु चर॥	चं अमृ॥
७.	वु राभ॥	शु चर॥
८.	चं अमृ॥	अं रोग॥
९.	श काल॥	श काल॥

पृ. २२/२३

पृ. २४/२५

पश्चि॥

मिथु॥

तुरा॥

कुम्भ॥

दखि॥

वृष॥

कन्या॥

मकर॥

चन्द्र

दिन

ध्वते

उत्र॥

कवर्क॥

विछ॥

मिन॥

पूर्व॥

मेष॥

सिंह॥

धनु॥

पृ. २६

१. १ ध्वतेदिणववाणेनेचोः॥ ॥ अंगावालण, पूर्ववाणे, राभद
२. यूव॥ स्वमवाल, आदित्यवारन, दखिनवाणे, काजशिधजुयि
३. व॥ बुधवाल, वृहस्पति, वालण, पश्चिमवाणे, राभदयुव॥
४. शनिचवाल, शुक्रवालन, उत्रवाणेसुभजुयुः॥ शुभ॥

पृ. २७

१. १ ध्वतेतिठिसगामवानेमतेव॥ पादु, नवमि, पूर्ववाणेमतेव॥ दिति
२. या, दसमि, उत्रवाणेमतेव, तृतिया, एकादशि, आग्नेनवाणेमतेव॥
३. चतुदशि, द्वादशि, नै लृत्येवाणेमतेव॥ पंचमि, त्रयोदशि, दखिनवाने
४. मतेव॥ षष्टमि, चतुध्यापछिमवानेमतेव॥ सप्तमि, पूर्णमशि, वायु
५. व्यवाणेमते॥ अमावास्या, अस्तमिइसानवाणेमतेव॥ ध्वतेवालन, ध्वपाक्ष
६. दोस्वयाववाणेमतेव॥ ॥ शनिचल, श्वमवालर, पूर्ववाणेमतेव॥ बुधबा
७. ल, अंगावाल, उत्रवाने, मतेव॥ आदित्यवाल, शुक्रवार, पश्चिमवाणेमते

पृ. २८

१. व॥ वृहस्पतिवालन, दक्षिण, वानेमतेव॥ ॥ कालध्वदिगसचोनाध
२. कंशिय, ध्वतेन॥ ॥ गुगुलिवालजुरं, उगुलिकालनं, पूर्वदिगतोननिस्यं
३. दखिनदिगदोनिस्ययने, गनासनिचलवालराताअनकालचोनि

४. व॥ ॥ इशानदिगच्छगुछलिस, त्याखयामदु, इसानदिगहाका
५. जाचावनिपमदु॥ ॥ केवाथानेदिन॥ नक्षत्र, मघ, मृगशिरा, लो
६. हिनि, हस्त, स्वाति, मूल, अनुराध, उत्रभद्र, उत्राखाध, रेवति॥ वारध्वते।
७. आदि, वुध, वृह, शुक्र, शनि, ध्वतेदिनस, स्वकथानेतेवदिन॥ ॥ केवा
पृ. २९
१. कोकायदिनध्वतेसतेव॥ नक्षत्र, ध्वति, मृगशिरा, जेष्ट, रेवति, पू
२. ण्णवशु, हस्त, श्रवण॥ वाल, वुध, वृहस्पति, शुक्र॥ ध्वतेदिनसकोकाय
३. तेव॥ ॥ विजरोपयायध्वतेस॥ हस्त, पुष्ये, धनेष्ट, अनुराध. ज्येष्ठ, मृग
४. शिरा, असूनि, मघ, मूर, लेबति॥ वालः श्वम, वुध, वृहस्पति, शुक्र, आदि
५. शनीचलः॥ ॥ ध्वते रितुकाल॥ मक्र, कुंभ, शिशिलकाल॥ कन्या, तुला
६. शरदका॥ विछ, धनू, हेमन्तकाले॥ ॥ ध्वतेराशिसथथेस, तुकालकू

परिशिष्ट - २

ग्रन्थमा भेटिएका शब्दरूप (पृ.सं)	शब्द विकास क्रम (नेपाल संवत्)
क १. असुनि (१), असुशि (७), असुणि (८), असुनि (२९)	- अश्रुनि (५०१) अश्विनी (५०६) अश्वनि (७१८)
२. अनुराधा (१), अनुराध (१,२)	- अनुराधा (५०६)
३. उत्तरभद्र (१), उत्र (२)	- उत्तरभद्र (५०१) उत्तरभद्र (८०३)
४. असल्येख (७), असल्यख (८)	-
५. उत्राखाध (७), उत्तराषाढ (८)	-
६. उत्तरफाल्गु (८)	-
७. घणेष (१), घनेष्ट (१), घनेष्ट (२) घनेस्था (८) घणष्ट (२९)	- घनिस्त (५०१) घनेष्ट (५०६) घनिष्ट (७१८)
८. चित्रा (१)	-
९. पुष्य (१) पुष्ये (२)	- पुष्य (५०६) पुस्य (५९१)
१०. पुनबसु (१) पुर्णवसु (२) पुनवशु (२) पूर्णवशु (२९)	-
११. ज्येष्ठ (२) ज्येष्ठा (८) जेष्ठ (२९)	-
१२. भरणि (८)	- भरणि (५०६)
१३. मघ (१)	-
१४. मुर (१) मूल (७)	-
१५. मृगशिरा (१) मृगशिला (८)	- मृगसिर (५०१) मृगशिर (५०६) (७१८)
१६. रेवति (१) रेव (८) लेवति (२९)	- रेवती (७१८)
१७. रोहिनि (२) लोहिनी (१) रोहि (७) लोहिनि (२८)	-
१८. विशाष (२)	-विशाष (५०१) विशाख (७१८)
१९. श्रवन (१) श्रवण (१) शवण (२)	-
२०. हस्त	-हस्त (७१८)
ख.१. आदित्य (१) अदित्य (२) आदित् (७) आदि (२८)	-आदित्य (८०३)
२. अंगाल (१) अंगा (२६)	-अंगार (५०६)
३. बुध (१)	-बुध (६२०)

४. वृहस्पति (१) वृह (१)	-
५. शनि (१) शनिचल (२)	-शनैश्चर (५०६) शनिश्चर (७९८)
शणिश्चल (७) शणिश्च (७)	सनि (६२०)
सनिश्चर (८) शणिचल (८)	
शनैश्चर (९) शनिचर (१०)	
शनिच (२६) सनिचल (२८)	
६. शुक्र (२)	-शुक्र (५०६)
७. श्वम (२) स्वोम (१) सोम (२)	-
स्वम (७)	
ग.१. मिथु (२४)	-
२. तुरा (२४) तुला (२९)	-तुल्य (५०६)
३. कुंभ (२४)	-कुम्भ (५०६)
४. कर्क (२४)	-कर्कत (५०६)
५. विछ (२४)	-
६. मिन (२४)	-मीन (५०९) (५०६)
७. मेष (२४)	-मेष (५०९) (५०६)
८. सिंह (२४)	-
९. धनु (२४) धनू (२९)	धनु (५०६)
१०. वृष (२४)	-
११. कन्या (२४)	कन्या (५०६)
१२. मकर (२४)	-मकर (५०६)
घ.१. एकादशि (२)	-
२. अमास्या (२)	-अमावशि (५०९) अमावशि (५९९)
	अमावास्या (५९९)
३. द्वादशि (२)	-
४. चतुदशि (२) चतुशि (२२)	-
५. शंक्रान्ति (२)	-
६. अष्टमि (३) अस्तमि (२२)	-
७. दशमि (९) दसमि (२७)	-
८. नओमि (१०) नवमि (२२)	-
९. पुणिमासि (२२)	-पुनिसि (५०६), पुनीशि (५०९) पुणिसि (७९८) पूर्णमासी (५९९)
१०. पादु (२२)	-पादो (५५०) पादो (७९८) प्रतिपदा (७९८)

११. तृतिया (२२)	-
१२. पंचमि (२२)	-
१३. त्रयोदसि (२२)	-
१४. चतुर्थ्या (२२)	-
१५. ष्ठति (२२)	-
१६. दुतिया (२२) दितिया (२७)	-
१७. षष्टमि (२७)	-
ड. १. सिद्धिकर्म (१) शिद्धि (७)	-सिद्धि (५०१) सिद्धि (५५०)
२. मेखरा (२)	- मेख ला (५०६) मेखला (५९१)
३. कस्ता (२)	-
४. तुरसि (२) तुलशि (३)	-
५. त्रिपुरूख (२)	-त्रिलिङ्ग (५०१)
६. कर्म (२)	-कर्म (५०६) कर्म (५९१) कर्म (८२०)
७. केबा (२८)	-केवं (७१८) केबा (८२०) केब (८३१)
८. गाम (२७)	-गाम (५०१) गाम (५५०) गाम (६२०)
९. पाक्ष (२८)	-पाख (५०६)
१०. मृर्तु (७)	-
११. जन्म (८) जर्म (९)	-जर्म (५०१) जन्म (५९१) जन्मभूमि (७१८)
१२. दसोहोरा (९) दशोहोरा (९)	-
१३. शिशिल (२९)	- शिशिर (७१८)
१४. छेतेर (१)	-
च. १. तेव	-तेव (५०६) तेवो (८३२)
२. विय (२)	-
३. डोय (२,३)	-डोसें (५५०) डोकं (६२०) डोया (५५०)
४. धाय (७)	-धाय (५०१) धाय (५०१) धाये (५९१) धायव (८३१)
५. नपा लातडाव (८)	-
६. लातडाव (८)	-लाडा (५०६) लात (८२०) लाडा (५९१)
७. द्रुहा (१०)	-
८. विज्याक (१०)	-
९. दयूव (२६)	-दवु (५०१) दव (५०६)
१०. वाणे (२७) वाने (२७)	-
११. चोना (२८)	-चोना (८२०)

१२. घकं (२८)	-घकं (५०६) घकं (७१८) घक (८३१) घकाव (८३१)
१३. शिय (२८)	-
१४. जुरं (२८)	-जुरं (५०६) जुरं (८०३)
१५. थने (२८)	-थने (७१८)
१६. चोनिव (२८)	-चोनयु (८२०)
१७. थाने (२८)	-
१८. कोकाय (२८)	-
१९. रोपयाय (२९)	-
२०. यने (२८)	-
छ.१. नन्द्रा (१०)	-नन्दि (५०६)
२. भद्रा (१०)	-
३. जया (१०)	-जया (८०३)
४. रिक्ता (१०)	-
५. पूण्णा (१०)	-
६. लाजाविलाधं (११-१२) रोज्ञाविराधं (११-१२) आज्ञाविपदं (११-१२)	-
७. महात्रास (११-१२)	-
८. निस्फलं (११-१२) निस्फलं (११- १२)	-निस्फल (५०६) निस्फल (७१८) निस्फल (८२०)
९. लोग (५) (११-१२)	-रोग (५०६) रोग (७१८) रोय (८३१)
१०. दुदिनं (११-१२)	-
११. अर्थसंपत्ति (११-१२)	-अर्थ (५०६)
१२. वषर्श (११-१२)	-
१३. वारकमृतु (११-१२)	-
१४. पुत्रराभं (११-१२) राभ (१५)	-लाभ (५०६), लाभ (७१८)
१५. गभदुषनं (११-१२)	-दुष (५५०), दुषरपय (५०१)
१६. छिवा (११-१२)	-
१७. शुह्रदं (११-१२)	-ह्रिय (८२०)
१८. मघानिलं (११-१२)	-
१९. जमशिववा (११-१२)	-जम (५०६) जमराज (८०)
२०. बेरा (१५)	-बेराकार (७१८) बेरा (८० (८२०)
२१. घति (१५)	-घटि (५०१) घरि (८०३)

२२. कार (१५) काल (१५)	-काल (५०६) काल (६२०) काल (८२०)
२३. देग (१५)	-
२४. उदग (१५) उदेग (१६) उदे (१७)	-उद्योग (५०६) उद्योग (७१८)
२५. उत्र (२२-२३)	-उत्रभद्र (५०१) उत्रायण (८०३)
२६. नैलृत्य (२२-२३)	-
२७. पछिम (२२-२३) परिछ (२४-२५) पछिम (२६)	-पश्चिम (५५०) पश्चिम (८०३)
२८. दखिन (२२-२३) दखि (२४-२५)	-दक्षिणायन (५०६) दक्षिण (५९१) दक्षिण (७१८)
२९. आने (२२-२३) आग्नेन (२७)	-
३०. पूर्व (२२-२३) पूव्व (२४-२५)	-
३१. दिन (१५) दिण (२६)	-दिन (५०६) दिन (८२०)
३२. काज (२६)	-कारज (५०६) कार्ज (५५०) काज (५९१) काज (५०१)
३३. शिघ (२६)	सिघयु (५०१) सिघौ (५०६) सिघ (५९१)
३४. तिठि (२७)	-तिथि (५०६) तिथि (५९१) तिथि (७१८)

+ शब्द विकास क्रममा कोष्ठभित्र दिइएका संख्या नेपाल सम्वत् हुन्। अश्रुनि (५०१) भन्दा ने.सं. ५०१ मा रचिएको अमरकोषमा अश्रुनि शब्द भेटिएको छ भनेर बुझ्नु पर्दछ। परिशिष्टमा कालक्रम उल्लेखित शब्दका दुई श्रोत प्रमुख रहेका छन्।

क. च्वसापसाद्वारा निर्माणाधीन प्राचीन नेपाल भाषा शब्दकोशको सामग्री जसको लागि लेखक च्वसापासाप्रति र शब्दकोष निर्माण समितिप्रति कृतज्ञ छ।

ख. हायुन्स जोगेसनद्वारा सम्पादित प्राचीन नेपाल भाषा शब्दकोष।

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वैयनधरसंगत॥नक्ष॥६॥कयुय विषाप्रवतिस्त्रितिस्त्रिनिष्टवध
 स्युधुवस्यनय॥याल॥सामद्वयुहस्यतिथ्यथसकलावियर्गवादि
 ने॥॥१॥निवस्यनदिनधरासंगत॥नक्ष॥७॥त्राहिनिमृगहिनाउश्य
 यान्नत्राधरासि स्यत्रवति॥याल॥७॥वधकयुहस्यति॥थनदिन
 संगत॥॥१॥पियुवकमोयायथसंगत॥नक्ष॥८॥युनकस्यविश्व
 स्यउ॥याल॥७॥गेलवृहस्यतिनिवत्त॥॥७॥सिदायसंगत
 दिनधरासंगत॥नकादहित्रमासाद्वादहित्रयुदहित्रिकाति॥वान॥७॥

दिव्यबुद्धिधामसुलबिज्जयमगद॥ ७ ॥ ॐ ॥

॥ अथाविष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् ॥

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 युगा

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अ. र. अ. उ. श. न. म.
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व. र. ना. र.
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सर्वसिद्धि
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१॥ धरातानदावमिद्विधागक्षयः ॥ रुक्मादित्यालनादि सामवसु-
तज्जगात्तवमृगमित्राववृधवयथायुरुसमिव श्वश्वश्वकवमद्य-
वमक्षिप्तवधरायलागदावमिद्विधागक्षयः ॥ १॥ धरातया
लागदावमृज्जगात् ॥ अदगाधवादि स्यात्तव उद्यावाधवसामव-
शागक्षिप्तवज्जगात्तव अष्टनिवृधवमृगमित्राववृधसमिव अस्म-
त्तव शुक्रवसुवधनिवृध ॥ १॥ धरातानदावमृज्जगात् ॥
१॥ धरातानदावमृगमित्रावमिद्विधागक्षयः ॥ आदित्यवरुक्मववृधसमिव

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श्रीनेत्रनाथ॥ ध्यानरूपवानलागदावरुजम् ॥ ॥ २५ ॥
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 गलनाथ॥ ध्यानलागदावदसाक्षात् भय॥ ॥ २६ ॥
 (संसारनामः) सलक्षणं नमः॥ श्रीरवाले नमः॥ धुरा॥
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॥ सौम्यदृष्टो योऽप्युक्त्या नञातिविवेकान्तरं ॥ २४ ॥
 देवसिर्मागनतमयकुरुविष्णुकदितकृत् ॥ २५ ॥

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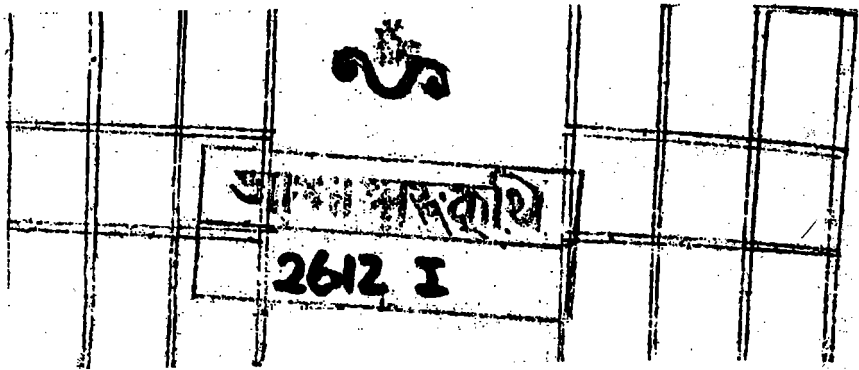
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आज्ञाविय ३.	गणनाम	मसून
गणद्वयन	रसिया ३	जिला ४
पुयगणि ३	मसुनि ५	भक्त ५

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अ० एरुवनायति
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१ दिनवना॥वृ॥
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(धर्माणि० सुगमवानमगवा॥ यद् नवमि युद्धवा लमगवा॥ दिमि
यादसमि उगवा लमगवा गृणिया न काय क्षि आत्मन वा लमगवा॥
वगुद निद्राद नि नीपय वा लमगवा॥ यवमि गुथा व निद्रा शि नवान
मगवा॥ वरुमि व उथ्म यद्विमवानमगवा॥ सक मि युद्ध मां गवायु
शय लमगवा॥ चमा वा सा अरुमि हुं सान वा लमगवा॥ धर्मा वाल न ध्याद
वा सयान वा लमगवा॥ गनि वल धम वाल न युद्ध वा लमगवा॥ युद्ध वा
ले र्म ग वाल उगवानमगवा॥ आदि य वाल श्रु क वान ग निम वा लमग

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काकायदिन धन सप्तव॥ नक्षत्र धति मृगशिरा ज्ञानवर्धनिय
 लुप्यरुक् शतव॥ वालयुधं वृद्धस्यति शुक्॥ धनदिन सकाकाय
 भव॥ ॥ विजयायययधनसादृशयुधं व॥ कञ्जनाधरुक् मृग
 शिराज्ञानसमयमृगलवति॥ वालश्वमयुधं वृद्धस्यति शुक्॥ ज्ञान
 वनीवल॥ ॥ धनजिउकाल॥ मयकैरु॥ गलगलकालमीनमयव
 नकाल॥ वृष्टमिथूनयिवाकाल॥ कर्कशसिद्धयवाकाल॥ कन्यापुला
 शनयका॥ विष्णुधनरुमनकाल॥ ॥ धनजानिसयधमयकालव

REVIEW ARTICLE

MAKING NO HEADS OR TAILS OF THE ETHNIC "CONUNDRUM" BY SCHOLARS WITH EUROPEAN HEAD AND NEPALESE TAIL

Krishna B. Bhattachan

Nationalism and Ethnicity in a Hindu Kingdom. The politics of Culture in Contemporary Nepal. Edited by David N. Gellner, Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka, & John Whelpton. Published in Amsterdam, The Netherlands by Harwood Academic Publishers. 1997. Pp.xxii+623, include List of Figures, List of Tables, Glossary, References and Index. Cloth. ISBN 90-5702-089-0. Price US\$ 75.00/£ 49.00/EUR 63.00.

“... बाहुनहरूले यस मूलुकका स्थायी बासिन्दाहरूलाई चूस्न सम्म चूसेका,
दबाउनसम्म दबाएका र हेप्नसम्म हेपेका छन्, होइन र...?”
(किच्चक हिच्कक (तारानाथ शर्माको पाताल प्रवासमा उद्युत)

"... The Bahuns have spared nothing to exploit, suppress and despise the original inhabitants of this land, or have they?"

-- "Kichhak"¹ Hitchcock (quoted by Sharma 2054:15)

Introduction

The book contains not just the original articles but also contrasting reviews of the main text by two Nepalese scholars, which are regarded as "conclusions" by the editors and "epilogue"/"reactions" by the Nepalese contributors. It, therefore, deserves an extended critical review in terms of its contribution to theory, concept, fact, methodology, epistemology and substance of nationalism, ethnicity and politics of culture in Nepal. I will critically assess the book by looking at what the editors of the book claim it to be and asking whether the contributors live up to such claims. I will review the book's strength and weakness, the substantive issues it raises and suppresses, and how the book could have been improved.

I have divided this review into three parts: (1) organization of the book: was it well thought out?, (2) themes of the book, and (3) audience of the book and the second part in six sub-parts: (i) theoretical positions:

primordialist and/or essentialist v instrumentalist and/or modernist, (ii) nationalism: "patriotism" v ethnonationalism, (iii) ethnicity/ethnic identity: caste v nationalities, (iv) resistance for: equality v displacement, (v) social change: "Hinduization" or "Internal Colonization" v Liberation and (vi) perspectives: "top-down" and "bottom-up" v "inside-out" and "outside-in."

I myself being a Thakali², a member of the National Committee for Development of Nationalities representing the Nepal Federation of Nationalities (NEFEN) and a faculty member of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology from its inception in 1981, who was trained in sociology in a Western school, I must frankly say that my reactions and analyses about the book under review would be multiple--partly from an academic perspective, partly from an advocacy perspective and partly from an ethnic activist perspective. In other words, I will primarily rely on reason, logic and rationality, but also emotion. Also, I mostly agree with the positions taken and analysis done by Harka Gurung; my analysis is supplementary and complementary to what he has already written in the book. I shall touch on and dwell on the articles and issues that I think are most significant for our understanding of politics of culture related to nationalism and ethnicity in Nepal.

Organization Of The Book: Was It Well Thought Out?

If any reader carefully looks at the contents of the book it instantly reveals that the book suffers from a number of conceptual problems. These are as follows:

- The book basically provides European, particularly British, scholars' perspectives on caste and ethnic issues in Nepal. Both eminent and upcoming scholars--13 European (10 British, 2 Germans, and 1 Swiss) and 2 Nepalese scholars--contributed articles on the theme. No American or Japanese scholars, who have done significant research on ethnic issues in Nepal, got his/her place in the book. Most of the contributors appear to belong to the "Oxford Club."
- Two Nepalese scholars, cultural historian Prayag R. Sharma and geographer Harka Gurung, contributed in the epilogue. Sharma provides a typical Bahun's perspective and Gurung provides a typical ethnic perspective on a wide range of issues. Unfortunately, *Madhesi*, *Dalit*, Muslim and Christian perspectives are conspicuously missing in the book. This review article also would not help to fill in the gap.
- Most of the authors are social anthropologists and the remaining authors are geographers, Indologists and literateur. The editors claim that the book is about the politics of culture but the perspectives of political sociologists, political economists and political scientists are conspicuously lacking. Instead of three articles on the Rais and other

ethnic groups with similar historical experiences vis-a-vis the Bahun-Chettri rulers, the editors could have put some efforts into getting multiple but related disciplinary perspectives that would have helped readers to better understand the main themes and issues raised in the book.

- Seven articles, including the introduction, part one, and conclusions are general. The remaining nine articles are about specific ethnic groups (the Newars, Gurungs, Tamangs, Tharus, Rais and Yakkhas) and primarily Hindu caste-based linguistic groups (Maithil), Bhotiya and emigrant Nepalis. In the absence of convincing reasons for the selection of specific ethnic, caste or linguistic groups, the groups included do not adequately represent the diverse features and aspirations of Nepalese society. For example, one wonders why the Rauts, who still live a nomadic life in the jungles of far- and mid-western Nepal, and other "poor" indigenous ethnic groups such as the Chepangs and Rajis were excluded? Why were three articles on the Rais included but none on the many other ethnic groups that are relatively lagging behind them? Why was there not even a single article about the Bahuns and Chettris--the master manipulators of nationalism and politics of culture? Why was there no articles about the *Dalits* and the Muslims? Why was the Christian issue not included? If the editorial policy was to focus on indigenous ethnic groups with Bahun-Chettris in the background, then why were the Maithils included? Why did Maithils get priority over Bhojpuris and Abadhis? The book leaves all these questions hanging. In brief, the book gives a very partial and unbalanced picture of the politics of culture in Nepal.
- The book's 15 articles are grouped in six parts: dominant and diaspora identities, central Nepal, the Tarai, east Nepal, the northern fringe, and conclusions. Clearly, five parts are conceptualized spatially but introduction and part six, that is, conclusions, are issue based. Spatial logic is not convincing for three reasons. First, the hills have been broken down into east and central regions but the west, mid-west and far-west get no coverage. Second, the same logic has not been applied with regards to the Tarai. Finally, in the mountain, hill and Tarai regions, indigenous peoples have many issues in common, but on regional issues, mountain-hill and the Tarai are distinctly divided. The Bahun-Chettris are the common "predators" as perceived by indigenous peoples, *Dalits* and the *Madhesis*. If the book was intended to raise issues specific to certain caste/ethnic groups, chapter divisions based on the caste/ethnic groupings would have made better sense, otherwise, issue based chapter divisions would have been more representative, succinct, and useful. These problems might have surfaced because the editors customized chapter divisions based on the

articles already available. Apparently, articles were not solicited based on the conceptual clarity of both the organizers of the seminars and/or the editors of the book.

In brief, the book is based on a one-day conference and series of seminars that were organized in the autumn of 1992 at the University of Oxford. Obviously, the strength and weakness of the design of the conference and seminars have had effects on the book.

Themes Of The Book

The seminar series was on "culture, politics, and identity in the Himalayan region" (p.xvii). These four themes have been re-focused on, as stated by Gellner in the introduction (p.3), four other themes, "nationalism, ethnicity, resistance, and change in Nepal," "from both top-down and bottom-up perspectives." These ultimately boil down to nationalism and ethnicity as the central focus and the politics of culture with sub-focus, as the title and sub-title of the book suggest. The chapter divisions, however, impose a spatial logic as mentioned earlier. Sharma groups European writers' contribution on the themes of state formation and nation-building, the upsurge in ethnicity and ethnic identity, socio-cultural change, and Hinduization (p.471). John Whelpton, Alan Macfarlane, Claire Burkert, Andrew Russel, and Martin Gaenszle deal with the issue of ethnic identity; Axel Michaels and N. J. Allen with the process of Hinduization; David N. Gellner, Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka, Prayag Raj Sharma and Harka Gurung with nation-building and state formation; and Christian McDonough with land and change. Among these contributors, David Gellner and Harka Gurung explicitly deal with both spatial and substantive issues, such as resistance in Gellner's case.

Theoretical Positions: Primordialist and/or Essentialist v Instrumentalist and/or Modernist³

Identification of the features, nature, and degree of primordialist and/or essentialist and instrumentalist and/or modernist in Nepal is exciting but the book faintly takes up the case and deals with it very casually. What is more disappointing is that it does not even try to get into the depth. The notion of "instrumentalism" is used by Gellner (p.7), Whelpton (p.65), Hutt (p.125), Gaenszle (pp.352-353), Pfaffa-Czarnecka (pp.453-456), and Sharma (pp.483, 486). Among them Gellner and Pfaffa-Czarnecka use "instrumentalism" cautiously, whereas Sharma uses the notion in its vulgar form.

Gellner dichotomizes primordialism and/or essentialism and instrumentalism and/or modernism and defined them accordingly. He writes, "according to the primordialist position, ethnic (and potentially national) identity has always been an aspect of social identity . . . Consequently the primordialist view is also often characterized as essentialist" (p.7). He further writes, "Opponents of primordialism are

known by the two different labels ... namely instrumentalism and modernism. In fact these two terms are used in different contexts and have different implications. In discussions of ethnicity it is instrumentalism that is opposed to primordialism, the idea being that the point of emphasizing ethnic distinctiveness is to gain some political or economic advantage" (p.7). He believes that "Instrumentalism raises the issue of motivation; or at least asserts that considerations of political and economic advantage offer the best grounding for explaining the success or failure of different ethnic movements" (p.7).

Gellner has aptly noted, "No extreme instrumentalist position will be defended here: it is unlikely that ethnic activists are motivated solely by the pursuit of economic or political advantage either for themselves or for the group (they often view themselves as devoted to the selfless pursuit of larger goals, to the detriment of their own, and their household's, economic advantage; at the same time, ... they often have a crude instrumentalist view of their *opponents'* motivations). And yet, the competition of different elites, which sometimes takes ethnic forms, does usually have political and/or economic consequences. Indeed political and economic benefits are specifically targeted when there are campaigns for job quotas or autonomous regions... For present purposes, the more modest (though still far from uncontroversial) modernist claim is upheld, that both nationalism and ethnicity--but not ethnic identity, which is ancient, as explained below--are relatively new phenomena on the world scene, and even more recent arrivals in Nepal" (pp.7-8).

Pfaffa-Czarnecka is of the view that "A third factor leading to an increased interest in cultural matters can be located among the entrepreneurial group. Here, primordial and instrumental considerations mingle most visibly" (p.455). She further writes, "... the entry of the minorities into the public arena results in a 'tragic' instrumentalization of primordial feelings, reinforcing internal cleavages, and politicizing every single aspect of culture. Whether it is really so is for the 'represented' minorities to judge" (p.462).

The ruling Bahun-Chetri scholars' voice is best represented by Sharma who accuses people like me and Om Gurung for being instrumentalists. He labors hard not only to denounce our ethnic activism but also to dump it by charging us, citing the English proverb " 'hunting with the hounds and running with the hare' " (p.486). Sharma, going beyond Gellner, writes, "The ethnic politics of Nepal in the 1990s seems to have elements conforming with both the primordialists' and the instrumentalists' models. In a democratic set-up the ethnic groups of Nepal feel an urge to discover pride in their ethnic identity. At the same time, however, they are also conscious that they can take advantage of the democratic situation and bargain for a good share in the political and economic pie, which fits the instrumentalist model. Such an urge on the part of the various ethnic groups need not be in conflict with the idea of a nation and nationalism.

Still, much unnecessary heat and passion gets generated over the many issues relating to ethnic demands (O. Gurung, n.d.; Bhattachan, n.d.)" (p.483).

The question is not really about ethnic activists being "primordialist" and/or "instrumentalists" as suggested by Sharma, because these concepts are the creation of social scientists, particularly social anthropologists and have been imposed from the top by foreign academicians and the ruling Bahun-Chetris. In practice, ethnic activists, including their organization, the Nepal Federation of Nationalities (NEFEN), have pursued the principles of equality and non-discrimination guaranteed by the Constitution of 1990. NEFEN's approach so far is as good for the ruling Bahuns and Chetris as it is for the ethnic groups. Ethnic demands are not for the displacement or replacement or expulsion of the ruling Bahuns and Chetris. Indigenous peoples are not demanding that the "imigrant" Hindu Indo-Aryans should go back to their "ancestral homeland," that is northern India, that Nepali should be boycotted as the language of officialdom, education and media. On the contrary, what the indigenous ethnic groups have been demanding so far is that the state, including the executive, legislature, judiciary and political parties, should treat equally of all Nepal's languages, religions, cultures and caste and ethnic groups.

Also, our ethnic demands are not just about economic and political gains. Our demands are also for the recognition of our very existence, our histories, cultures, and religions. It is ridiculous on the part of Bahun-Chetri scholars who maliciously feel that ethnic activists play their ethnic card to get more political and economic gains. Interestingly and surprisingly, when Bahun-Chetris' lineage organizations demand more political and economic gains for their respective lineages they are seen as neither instrumentalist nor communal. When they are in the driving seats in the branches of the government as well as the media and political parties, they are not seen as instrumentalist or communal. When the Supreme Court issues an interim order not to use "national languages" or mother tongues in the local bodies, the Court is not seen as instrumentalist or communal. When the House of Representatives makes *Daura-Suruwal* the mandatory outfit for legislators, the House is not seen as instrumentalist or communal. And when a so-called revolutionary party, the Nepal Communist Party (Unified Marxists Leninist), elected at least 24 Bahuns out of 28 elected central committee members in its sixth convention the party was not accused of being instrumentalist or communal. Other ethnic activists and I always wonder why is it a sin when we aspire for equality in all public spheres, including linguistic, cultural, religious and political fields?

The Newars' achievements, an issue raised and (mis)used by Sharma, are prime evidence of Bahun-Chetris' instrumentalism. Whatever the gains of the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley in Nepal's politics, bureaucracy and education these were due to their strategic position of being the only

indigenous ethnic group of the capital city. If other ethnic or religious groups such as the Rauts, Chepangs, Limbus, or Muslims had predominated in the Kathmandu Valley, they would have benefited like the Newars. Therefore, the Shah rulers, Rana rulers, Pancha rulers, and now the democratic leaders also need their help and support of the Newars to maintain law and order in the Kathmandu Valley. Helping the Bahun-Chetris has cost the Newars the rapid destruction of their communitarian life, language and culture. Therefore, socio-culturally and politically conscious Newars are now struggling, along with other indigenous ethnic groups, to restore their rapidly disappearing language and culture, and not just for political and material gains as suggested.

Any reasonably sensible or normal person would instantly understand who has been the most instrumentalist caste and/or indigenous ethnic groups in Nepal since 1768 A.D.. There is no doubt whatsoever that Bahun-Chetris have been great and smart instrumentalists. They have internally "colonized" the indigenous peoples of Nepal, and want to continue to do so in the future. Bahuns and Chetris have used the instruments of "unification," the 104-year old autocratic Rana regime, the 30-year autocratic partyless Panchayat political system and the multi-party democracy of the present to monopolize political, economic, cultural, linguistic and religious power and resources.

Bahun-Chetris have never conceded an inch of their monopoly of political, economic, cultural, linguistic, and religious power and resources and they are not mentally prepared to do so now or in future. Even after the reinstatement of democracy in Nepal, they will not loosen their grips on power considering the fact that the democratic constitution of 1990 prohibits ethnic, language, and religion-based political parties, considering that two centuries of Bahun-Chetri domination has left its mark on consciousness of the oppressed, and considering, finally, that we are striving to claim our due equal rights as Nepalese citizens why should we be charged and denounced by any scholar as taking "primordial" or "instrumental" positions? Why any one of us, who live in a multi-caste/ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-religious and multi-cultural society, cannot take it as our legitimate democratic aspirations that have been denied by the predator state run by the Bahun-Chetris? It is good for the Bahuns and Chetris that most of the indigenous ethnic groups so far have not demanded for their "replacement" or "displacement" or "expulsion." If the Bahuns and Chetris remain adamant, then the paradigm of current struggle may change. The suppressed and oppressed groups may revolt against the Bahuns and Chetris, by using violence, if necessary.

My sense is that ethnic activists will be patient enough to use non-violent options for some time. Unfortunately, such generous peaceful approaches have been labeled as either primordialist or instrumentalist or a mixture of the two. If ethnic groups "gain nothing," following their words, or do not get equal rights in public sphere, and if the ruling

Bahun and Chetris are not willing to concede to get down to what they deserve, then the current paradigm of equality may change to displacement or replacement or expulsion of the Bahun and Chetris, which would necessarily be more violent. They may discover that Franz Fanon (1982) was right when he strongly argued that violence is the only means left for the natives to drive away the "settlers." No one in Nepal actually wish to see violence of any kind. It will be difficult for the indigenous ethnic groups to undo in a few years or even decades what has been done by the Bahun and Chetris over the last two centuries. However, in the last eight years many things have already been accomplished, and real momentum for change is gaining rapidly.

Although the theoretical debate on instrumentalism versus primordialism appears to be one of the core issues dealt with by some contributors, none of the articles actually analyzes in-depth the theoretical frames of primordialism and instrumentalism in Nepal. Gellner, Pfaffa-Czarnecka and Sharma engage in very superficial discussions about them. If these two theories are so important for the editors, I wonder, why the contributors did not elaborate on the contexts, assumptions, variants, implications and critiques of both theories.

Nationalism: "Patriotism" v Ethnonationalism

In Nepal, all political leaders and their followers, on the one hand, and indigenous peoples, on the other, often talk about "nationalism," but the languages of their discourse are primarily antagonistic. The ruling Bahun-Chetris and the "national political parties" that are under their command⁴ define nationalism ("*Rāstrabad*") in terms of one nation, one King, one religion (Hindu), one language (Nepali)⁵ and one dress (*daura suruwal* and *Nepali topi* for men and *saari* for women). There are some "progressive" or leftist groups who equate "nationalism" with anti-Indianism, "anti-imperialism" and "anti-expansionism" only. All of them often use the terms "nationalism" and "patriotism" synonymously. They completely overlook the existence of nationalities and their definition of (ethno)nationalism in terms of their distinct languages, religions, cultures and we-feeling.

Sharma represents the first or the worst variety and completely undermines the existence of nationalities by writing: "remove monarchy and there is no state, and minus the state, there is no nationalism. The only form of nationalism the ethnic groups have known about or been familiar with is in the framework of the Nepali state" (p.482). In contrast to Sharma, Gellner, Whelpton, and Pfaff-Czarnecka try to engage the readers on the debates centered on the latter variety of nationalism, that is ethnonationalism. However, a lack of a conceptual and theoretical framework about nationalism makes these discussions more fuzzy and superficial with least relevance for the ethnic activists and advocacy groups. It does not surprise me at all because such controversy exists in

the Western debates that revolve around its definition, cognate subjects, forms, disciplinary perspectives and interrelationship with other concepts (Hutchinson and Smith 1994:3). For example, with regard to debates on the definition of nationalism, some focus on national sentiment, some on nationalist ideology and language and others on nationalist movements; and debates on the forms of nationalism include religious, conservative, liberal, fascist, communist, cultural, political, protectionist, integrationist, separatist, irredentist, diaspora, pan and so on (Hutchinson and Smith 1994:3-4). Whelpton senses "Being Nepali, then, means different things to different Nepalis and we need to be constantly aware of the gap that may exist between official aspirations and the actual feelings of a population divided along ethnic, caste, and class lines" (p.39).

Most of the left-leaning political parties, their leaders and followers, define "nationalism" in terms of anti-India sentiments. Such sentiments are real and have merit of their own, but using it as proxy for nationalism sidelines its important components, such as nationalities, language, religion and culture. The Bahun-Chettri rulers define nationalism in terms of "common" history, "common" national icons, "common" language, "common" religion, "common" dress and "common" sentiments. All these presumed commonalities are Bahun-Chettri-centered. They thus undermine socio-cultural, linguistic, religious and caste/ethnic diversities. One such common national icon imposed on all the Nepalese people is the cow, a theme of the article by Michaels. Cow became the national animal because the Hindu Bahun Chettri rulers decided to make it so in order to undermine indigenous peoples and their cultural practices. The constitution makers should have avoided declaring the cow as the national animal because there are many indigenous ethnic and religious groups whose cultural practice is to eat beef. We ethnic activists have therefore suggested to declare animals such as Rhinos as the national animals, which would affect no one's sentiments.

Ethnicity/Ethnic Identity: Caste v Nationalities

Gellner, in the introduction, discusses a controversy surrounding the term "ethnicity." There is also controversy about terms such as "indigenous people" and "*Janajati*." Such controversies are not unusual in Nepal for two reasons: one, these terms are well contested in the Western societies as well, and two, the term "ethnicity" is a Western concept superimposed onto Nepalese society, which obviously does not have a fit. In Nepal, it was Sharma (1992) who mentioned Bahun and Chettri ethnicity, followed by Dor Bahadur Bista (1995) who argued that the Khas of mid-western Nepal are the *Janajatis*. Similarly, the Bahun Chettri policy makers, planners and politicians use the term *Janajati* to refer to themselves and the *Dalits* as well. Some *Dalits* also call themselves *Janajatis*. Thus, the term *Janajati* has been misused as a synonym of all the Nepalese. Furthermore, Rajendra Pradhan (1994) misled many people when he

argued that either everyone or no one is indigenous here in Nepal. Thus, in the 30 dark years of the partyless Panchayat political system, we were told that "all Panchas are Nepalese and all Nepalese people are Panchas," and now in democracy we hear that "all indigenous peoples are Nepalese and all Nepalese are indigenous peoples." The draft concept paper of the ninth development plan used 24 different words to refer to the *Janajatis* and includes economically backward Bahun-Chetris and *Dalits* such as Damai, Kami and Sarki in the hills and Musahar, Dom and Dusadh in the Tarai. Similarly, the *Rastriya Janajati Bikas Samiti* formed in 1997 defined *Janajati* as those Nepalese people who are economically backward. This definition fails to recognize rich but genuine *Janajatis* as *Janajatis*, and wrongly recognizes non-*Janajatis*, such as poor Bahuns/Brahmans, Chetris/Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras as *Janajatis*. Gellner's full citation of the definition offered by the ethnic activists (p. 20-21; see also NAC/IDWIP-N 1994) and a careful study of the history of various caste and ethnic groups (cf. Hodgson 1991), draw a *Laxman Rekha* ("a clear cut demarcation") between caste and non-caste groups. As long as His Majesty's Government of Nepal does not provide legal definition of the terms, particularly of "indigenous people" and "*Janajati*," the controversy will continue. If the government recognizes the definitions of these terms in the way indigenous ethnic activists have defined them, the controversy would cease and if the legal definition goes against their aspiration one may expect a series of violent confrontations in the future to decide the definitions politically⁶.

Any one who has some knowledge about Nepalese social structure knows that Nepalese society comprises caste and non-caste groups even though the New National Code of Nepal abolished untouchability since 1963. In practice, caste is bifurcated into so-called "high" and "low" caste groups. Among "higher" caste groups of the hills, Bahuns and Chetris have been in the driving seat of the political economic vehicle of the country for the last two hundred and twenty five years. A Task Force on the Establishment of a Foundation for Upliftment of the Nationalities, in a report submitted to His Majesty's Government of Nepal in 1996, defined *Janajatis* as "those people who have their own mother tongue and traditional customs but do not fall within the four fold *Varnasram* system of the Hindus" (Task Force on An Foundation for Upliftment of the Nationalities 1996:13). The ruling Bahuns and Chetris are very resistant to such concrete demarcation between caste and ethnic groups because they love to fish in muddy waters. During the autocratic Rana regime, Bahuns and Chetris brought the nationalities within the legal fold of the caste system by putting them in the second place (as the *Matawalis* or "liquor drinking" castes) in the fourfold caste hierarchy. Bahun-Chetris thus reaped the harvest of the state and society. Now the Bahuns and Chetris wish to reap the current harvest by identifying themselves as the "genuine"

indigenous ethnic group of Nepal! The book under review makes no attempt to clear the waters made muddy by the Bahuns and Chetris.

Resistance For: Equality v Displacement?

Some contributors engage in debates on whether there is a continuing tradition of caste-ethnic harmony in Nepal. Different scholars have taken different positions. Some contributors say no, some say yes, and some say maybe. Gellner writes: "For the last forty years it has been a cliché of Nepalese politics and tourist brochures that the many different castes, religions, languages, and 'races' of Nepal live together in tolerant harmony, without the violent conflict which has blighted the other countries of South Asia. The harmony may have been exaggerated-Bhattachan (1995:125) condemns it as a 'blatantly manufactured myth' of the Panchayat period — but it is equally true that ethnic violence has so far been avoided" (emphasis mine). Even after reading these lines Sharma (p.472) "concludes": "Most people in Nepal have liked to believe that, despite its cultural diversity, its history has been marked by an ethnic harmony in a multi-ethnic society, free of all kinds of ethnic tension. Its transition to democracy could be expected to produce other kinds of problems, but no serious stirrings" (p.6) (emphasis mine). Gurung, on the contrary concludes: "Political expressions, ethnic or otherwise, become especially salient during periods of power transition. This is what Nepal is experiencing presently under a democratic environment. However, Gellner (Introduction, p.6) seems nearer the truth when he argues that ethnic harmony may previously have been exaggerated. There were ethnic conflicts in the past of which recent apparitions include the Hindu furor over Padma Ratna Tuladhar's comments on beef eating and the Hindu-Muslim clashes in Nepalganj in October 1995" (p.530) (emphasis mine). The problem with differential perspectives lies in what "harmony" or "conflict"/"tension" mean. If conflict means something that is equivalent to the conflicts in Sri Lanka and Yugoslavia, then yes it did not happen after the so-called project of "unification." If harmony means peace and tranquillity or no attempted or failed ethnic insurgency or conflict, then the answer is no.

Sharma, a Bahun scholar who often expresses typical Bahuns' views, is unhappy with us for dichotomizing the Nepalese people into "us" and "them" but in the next sentence he himself loves to refer to "us" as "them." In his own word (p.489), "The leaders of ethnic organizations in Nepal have shown a preference for presenting their case in terms of two sets of opposing ideas, cultures, values, or situations, or even, unfortunately, in racial terms. This can be seen in the use of contrasts such as Hindu versus *Janajati*, indigenous versus non-indigenous, *Pahari* (the hill people) versus *Madhesi* (people of the plains), Mongol versus Aryan, or the pointed noses versus the flat nose. There seems to be a

constant implication of 'them' versus 'us' (Bhattachan, 1995). These are examples either of political naiveté or of deliberate ethnic brinkmanship. Whether they like it or not, only the state such as we have it today is able to provide all of us with an overarching sense of national identity. Sequestered ethnic groups, either singly or collectively, have nothing similar to parallel it. If they try to invent something artificially so late in the day, they cannot do it without first destroying the idea of the state" [emphasis mine]. The dichotomy of "us" and "them" was manufactured by the ruling Bahuns and Chetris themselves in the last two hundred thirty years and now indigenous ethnic groups are forced to use the dichotomy to turn it around. Sharma makes a baseless claim, like in the famous story of the emperor's new clothes, about the Nepali state's proven capability of providing "an overarching sense of national identity."

So far, ethnic activists have been busy getting organized, as demanded by the Western model of the multi-party political system, by not losing their roots of indigenous organizations/institutions. As the paradigm pursued is for equality, not displacement or replacement of Bahuns and Chetris, ethnic activists have been using non-violent means to achieve their goals. Nationalities, *Dalits*, *Madhesis*, and other religious groups have been using some weapons of the weak. The Nationalities, *Madhesis*, *Dalits*, Muslims, and Christians, generally, have never resorted to communal riot or violence against their oppression by the ruling groups. Although the economic and sociocultural inequality between the ruling high caste groups and the remaining groups has been rising and the awareness and organization capacity of the latter groups is also on the rise, it would not be surprising if such events come up here too. So far we all have resorted to the peaceful means to press our demands with the ruling "high"- caste groups. These means include seminars on burning issues, interaction program with the national political parties, press release, street demonstrations, boycott campaigns, counter-threat to defend our cause, and networking with international sister organizations (Bhattachan 1997a:6).

Resistance against the ruling Bahuns and Chetris may tactically take different alliances. For example, recently the Pashupati Area Development Committee controlled by the Bahun-Chetris was forced to formally apologize for dismantling Kiranti's graveyards in Bankali forest near the Pashupatinath temple in Kathmandu as demanded by a joint struggle committee of the Rais, Limbus, Sunuwars and Yakkhas. Also, recently "*Bhasik Adhikar Samyukta Sangharsha Samiti, Nepal*" ("A Joint Struggle Committee for Language Rights, Nepal"), a network of various mother tongue speaking people's groups was formed to fight against the recent interim order issued by the Supreme Court of Nepal not to use national languages or mother tongues in the local bodies. In the case of language issue, all Tibeto-Burman, Urdu and Indo-Aryan language speakers, except

Nepali and Sanskrit, have already united to fight against the hegemony of the Nepali language. Similarly, indigenous peoples, *Dalits*, Muslims, Christians, and Women may form a network to advocate for positive discrimination or affirmative action or reservation of seats in politics, bureaucracy, education, police, and military. On the issue of secularism, all-non Hindus may form a network to fight against the domination of Hindu religion. Certain issues are exclusive to particular groups. For example, indigenous ethnic groups have to fight against all the Hindus, *Dalits* have to fight against the practice of untouchability by high caste groups, and *Madhesis* have to fight against hill domination. Most of the human rights organizations, which have networks with international human rights organizations, often support these groups.

Dahal (1993:1) has noted that the Bahun-Chetris are in conflict with *Madhesis*, the Newars and other *Janajatis* and the *Dalits*. Given these conflicts, the authors would have done justice to the issue of resistance if its context, nature, variants and implications were discussed and analyzed in detail.

Social Change: "Hinduization" or "Internal Colonization" v Liberation

Hinduization or sanskritization has been the darling to many Nepalese and non-Nepalese anthropologists and other social scientists since the fifties. Much has already been written about it. The book does not add anything to what has already been said and written. Anthropological analyses of Hinduization or Sanskritization by social scientists such as Shigeru Iijima and Prayag Raj Sharma were and still are Bahun-centered. They believe that ethnic groups like the Thakalis, Magars, Gurungs, Rais and Limbus have gone through such processes in order to elevate their social status. What is missing in such texts is the context of Bahun-Chetri monopoly on power, privilege, and authority in the last two centuries. There is no denying the fact that some members of various ethnic groups were under tremendous pressure to claim they belonged to "high" caste groups to get more privileges from the rulers, otherwise they would have faced continued persecution and poverty. From the *Janajati* perspectives, however, it was a process of internal colonization, not Hinduization or Sanskritization as claimed by the authors. Sharma writes, ". . . the process of Hinduization in Nepal should not come as too much of a surprise. Hinduization happened neither in the same degree nor in a uniform manner amongst all groups and individuals. Nor did the state proselytize or force people to accept Hinduism, although in some cases tax exemptions were available to ethnic groups as an incentive to conform to some cherished Hindu cultural values . . . more properly, it was left to the individuals or groups themselves to decide to what extent and in what form to take it or leave it. In general the Hinduization process never cut

deeper than the imitation of the Hindus high castes' mannerisms by the others (see Pfaff-Czarnecka, Chapter 13). Nor was Nepal's acculturation process one-way traffic. The Hindus themselves have been no less influenced in their many beliefs and practices by the religion of the smaller traditions" (pp.481-2) [emphasis mine].

Gurung has correctly noted, "The spread of Hinduism as a religious ideology also meant social ordering according to the Hindu framework based on a hierarchical caste system . . . The Code [National Legal Code] was promulgated in 1854 to impose Hindu caste rules on various ethnic groups" (p.501). He further notes, "The main significance of the Muluki Ain was in its scope, the fact that it encompassed all people under the Gorkhalis' rule" (p.501) and "Hinduization was accompanied by the colonization of tribal areas" (p.502) (emphasis mine).

All indigenous ethnic groups want liberation from the traps of Bahunism (*Bahunbad*), Hinduization, Sanskritization and Nepalization. It is obviously not an easy job for ethnic groups and *Dalits*, even in the recently reinstated multi-party democracy, to undo in a few years or decades what has been done over the last 230 years, because the Bahun-Chettri power structure is still very well fortified in the "national" political parties, including the Nepali Congress dominated by the Purbiya Bahuns, the Rastriya Prajatantra Party dominated by the Kumain Bahuns and the Nepal Communist Party (Unified Marxist and Leninist) dominated by the Jaisi Bahuns. Among the Bahun and Chettri political leaders, Dr. Baburam Bhattarai⁷ and Puspha Kamal Dahal ("Prachanda"), the leaders of the "People's War," are the only leaders who have accepted the historical fact that the nationalities, *Dalits* and other minority groups have been suppressed, oppressed and exploited by the ruling Bahuns and Chettris. Bhattarai and Dahal have promised to give the right to self determination to nationalities, including the right to secede, which they believe is the only way for liberation. Therefore, the Khambuan Mukti Morcha led by Gopal Khambu has gone underground supporting the "People's War" led by Dr. Baburam Bhattarai.

Perspectives: "Top-down" and "Bottom-up" v "Inside-out" and "Outside-in"

All fourteen articles, including the introduction, by the European authors have neither top-down nor bottom-up, and neither etic nor emic perspectives as claimed. Their perspectives are more outside-in-out than outside-in. Most of the European authors are very sympathetic to the plight of the suppressed, oppressed and depressed caste and ethnic groups but the reasons are not because they, as suggested by Sharma, studied them but because logic, reason and rationality dictate them to do so. If we look at their works from a dialogic of theory, fact, observer and participant, clearly their writings are mediated by themselves as

"observers" than by theory or fact or participant. In contrast, the articles by Sharma and Gurung have, to some extent, bottom-up or inside-out perspectives but Sharma gives a typical Bahun perspective and Gurung a typical *Janajati* perspective. Sharma's arguments remind me of a Nepali proverb "*Khayepani nakhayepani Baghko mukh raato*," meaning "Will it leave out any grass for lambs, if all tigers turn graminivorous? My personal predilection is that all theory, fact should come from the participant and observer should reflect them because they cannot represent them.

If social scientists, including social anthropologists, sociologists, and historians, claim to give "bottom-up" perspectives and are committed to contribute positively to make a difference in the lives of the people, then it is essential that they should analyze indepth the issues debated extensively by the people themselves. Such issues include devolution of power and authority or local self-rule or local level autonomy or right to self-determination, positive discrimination or affirmative action or reservation of seats in education, bureaucracy, politics, military and police. The editors claim that the book represents bottom-up perspectives but none of the contributors has discussed and analyzed some burning issues such as the right to self-determination (Gurung 1995; Magar 1995; NCP (Masal) 1995a and 1995b; NEFEN 2054; Tamang 1995; and Thapa 1995a and 1995b), local-level autonomy, and marginalization of indigenous self-help organizations (Bhattachan 1997b).

Audience Of The Book

The price of the book, both the original and Nepal editions, is out of reach even to most of the university faculty members, scholars, researchers, students and ethnic activists. Only a handful of them and donor agencies may purchase and read the book. Also, the book is available only in English; those interested Nepalese who cannot read English will not get an opportunity to benefit from it. Also, the book is about the people--the diverse ethnic groups with their own mother tongues and inability to speak either English or Nepali--will not even know of its existence. Gellner claims in the introduction that the contributors have used both "top-down" and "bottom-up" perspectives. If siphoning of information from the "bottom-up" is possible then disseminating those collected and synthesized information from the "top-down" is ethically equally important. Therefore, the editors and publisher of the book should find ways to translate the book or a summarized version of it, at least into the Nepali language for the benefit of the various ethnic groups covered in the book. I, however, strongly believe that such books should be translated into most of the "national languages" or mother tongues spoken in the country. As the price and language of the book make it accessible to only a handful of Nepalese scholars, ethnic

activists and the general public, it has neither any "use value" nor any "exchange value" for the Nepalese people at large.

The book may be useful to "foreigners" like Gellner, Whelpton, Macfarlane, and Hutt or those expatriates associated with donor agencies in Nepal, who know something more about Nepalese society, culture, economy and politics. Especially expatriate staff of donor agencies must read the book, understand the complexities of ethnic problems and streamline their development strategies, programs and projects by putting caste and ethnicity at the center. But other "foreigners," who have either very elementary ideas or some general ideas about Nepal, may get a very partial picture of the text without a context in spite of the introduction. I felt that the book was more about "inside-out" of Nepal than "outside-in" Nepal. Generally, the foreigners may find it very informative and helpful to get some glimpse of the political aspects of the complexities of Nepalese society and culture.

The *Dalits*, Muslims and the *Madhesis* will likely find little of interest in the book.

Bahun-Chettri readers may feel uncomfortable with many issues raised and analyzed by the Western contributors. They, however, may find Sharma's "concluding" article as their Vedas for their community members. Also, they may find it as cultural "Tomahawk" missiles/nerve gases targeted to the indigenous ethnic groups. The indigenous ethnic readers, including myself, definitely find that he unnecessarily labors hard to defend all the wrongdoing of the Bahun-Chettri rulers in the last 230 years by manufacturing de-contextualized, ahistoric, narcissist, illogical, sometimes senseless and baseless, arguments. He leaves no stone unturned to discredit and disgrace the positive efforts made by the *Janajatis* in order to project an image of the Bahun-Chettris as the only dignified, generous, caring, gracious, and pro-welfare group in Nepal! The politics of culture in contemporary Nepal is making clear the historic fact that the Bahuns and Chetris are the villains of the *Janajtis*, *Dalits*, *Madhesis* and other minority groups. History is always cruel to the wrongdoers. The wrongdoers in Nepalese society and culture have to pay cumulative socio-cultural interest if they are not willing to accept their past wrongdoing and give an equal space in the public sphere to the *Janajatis*, *Dalits*, *Madhesis* and other minority groups. The message is in the book but it is not loud and clear as it should be.

To conclude, given the fact that Europeans are the major contributors, and the Nepalese contributors are confined to the end, this volume is basically about the European head with the Nepalese tail. As a logical conclusion, it appears that a second volume about the Nepalese Head with the European tail should be in waiting.

Notes

1. Kicchak, in the famous Hindu epic Mahabharata, is a brother-in-law of the commander of King Birat who was killed by Bhishm. Bhishm was one of the five brothers called Pancha Pandav. Kicchak had sexually harassed Draupadi, wife of the Pancha Pandav. Tara Nath Sharma, in the first chapter of his book *Pattal Prabash*, recalls his encounters with John T. Hitchcock and Joe Elder in the process of getting admission to a U.S. school. He characterizes Hitchcock as Kicchak, as Prof. Hitchcock not only discouraged but refused to help him because he belonged to a Bahun caste.
2. The Thakalis, whose traditional homeland is in the Mustang district, are one of the 61 plus ethnic groups in Nepal. Their total population is less than nine thousand.
3. For detail understanding of the concepts of essentialism and instrumentalism in the philosophy of science see Popper (1968:97-119). Karl R. Popper discusses conjectures, truth, and reality as the third view concerning human knowledge.
4. For example, the Nepali Congress is controlled by the Purbia Bahuns, the Rastriya Prajatantra Party by the Kumain Bahuns, and the Nepal Communist Party (Unified Marxist Leninist) by the Bahuns whose spouses are from ethnic groups.
5. Gorkha bhasa, now called Nepali, is the language of the Bahun Chettri rulers. Communities belonging to "national languages," that is, mother tongues other than Nepali, have criticized the constitution for its discrimination against their languages. In a multilingual country like Nepal Nepali language cannot be and should not be the only national and official language. Instead, all languages should have equal status.
6. See Bhattachan (1993; and 1996) for the politics of definitions of indigenous peoples.
7. Dr. Baburam Bhattarai (1997) has appealed the Newars to join in the people's war.

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BOOK REVIEW

Developmental Practices in Nepal. 1997. Krishna Bahadur Bhattachan and Chaitanya Mishra. 1997. Central Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur.

Though the Central Department of Sociology and Anthropology has published its annual journal, *Occasional Papers in Anthropology since 1990* (five volumes are out up to now.), it has recently added a new volume to its list with the 1997 publication of *Development Practices in Nepal*. Full credit of this volume goes to Dr. Krishna Bahadur Bhattachan who not only made the initial foray into tapping resources to organize the original workshop but also invited a group of scholars conducting research on Nepal themes to write these papers on development practices in Nepal.

This volume consists of six seminar papers presented at the workshop, tied together with a summary of floor discussion and a foreword by Peter Herring, Resident Representative of Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung (FES). In the programme preface, the editors outline three major workshop objectives:

1. To generate teaching and reading materials for development practices in Nepal toward an applied course in the three year B.A. program in Sociology and Anthropology; and also as an "optional paper" in the Sociology of Economics for the MA programme in Sociology and Anthropology;
2. To spark a debate on development practices in Nepal among academicians, policy makers, and development practitioners; and
3. To disseminate development experience to a wider audience through publication.

The thrust of this short review concerns itself with the question of the extent to which these objectives are being fulfilled by this publication.

Let me begin by considering the identity of the six paper writers of this volume. Four of the six authors are, economists with different levels of experience in their administrative careers. The other two authors are in fact, the volume's editors, who are more prominent sociologists of Nepal. This selection of authors by itself suggests that development is primarily

an economic concept and that other aspects are peripheral. Such an approach to development is not new in Nepal, of course, since up to now most development planners, with the exception of a small number of geographers, are economists. Indeed, the rationale for excluding geographers as paper writers is not entirely clear. Political science, too, is not even touched upon although it is common knowledge that without political stability development cannot take place.

It is also interesting how each paper of this volume appears to contradict the views expressed in another paper. Yet nowhere do the editors attempt to ameliorate these contradictions. That said, let me discuss the first three papers on Nepalese economy; these discuss the role of state and market in the development of Nepal.

Dr. Badri Prasad Shrestha's paper on "State-led Growth Strategy in Nepal" pleads for a state-led growth strategy in Nepal's development. He argues that, over the years, there has been a widening economic and social justice among people in Nepal. In order to mitigate these economic gaps, he advocates a stronger state role in Nepal. Thus, he writes that "... economy remains dualistic in its nature and content" (p. 45). Nevertheless, Dr. Badri has not given even cursory note to the fact that Nepal's development efforts to date have already been a primarily state-led growth strategy that has done nothing to alter Nepal's status as one of the world's poorest countries. Somehow, he seems to avoid grappling with the critical issue that state personnel assigned to administer Nepal's development may itself be marked by corruption. Could it be that these very people have no strategic interest in Nepal's development because such an outcome would jeopardize their private interests? Would development force them to forfeit the regal and luxurious lives which they enjoy in the name of development for the poor people of Nepal? The author himself is one of the foremost beneficiaries of such a model for development in our country. To be sure, the author clearly notes that the state becomes poorer and poorer even as individuals within it grow richer and richer. But the question of why this is happening is neatly skirted. My own feeling is that the author may have found that answer to these deplorable circumstances through an examination of Nepalese social structure, the reproduction of advantage for a ruling elite, and the empirical functioning of the Nepalese economy over the last 50 years.

Dr. Shankar Sharma in his paper on "Market-led Development Strategy in Nepal" argues that economic development in Nepal is made most possible through privatization, economic liberalization, and globalization. This is, of course, a sentiment typical of current western models of economic development which proceed without minimal

consideration of fundamental social structures in the Nepali society. He writes, for example, that "liberalization policies are likely to generate higher income" (p. 66). Yet, the question of how liberalization and privatization will actually provide widespread benefits in a relatively little educated and hierarchial society such as Nepal's is a crucial issue left unaddressed. In reality, economic privatization or liberalization must benefit only those few people who already have access to resources or who are already within the inner circles of the power-base that typifies the Nepali society. The asutere liberal economic model by itself predicts that privatization of goods and services leads to competition and this generates economic growth through the provision of cheaper, better quality goods and services to consumers. But is this happening in Nepal?

Take, for example, the burgeoning number of banks, both private and joint ventures, in Nepal over the past decade. What have they done? Are these banks helping more than 70% Nepal's population who live below the poverty-level? So far as I know, most of these banks are not motivated to industrialize the Nepal's economy; rather, they are making a few businessmen richer who will eventually drain Nepal's resources elsewhere, while the country itself risks economic collapse at any time. One of the major revenue sources in Nepal is through customs, and this is controlled technically by these few businessmen who have access to these joint-venture banks. In recent years, we have seen the big news that the custom office is not able to collect the expected revenue because many imported goods are passed through illegal channels where a few of the ruling and business elite play key roles. If this is the kind of privatization or open market economy we are talking about, our country will be economically doomed in coming years. While revenue growth has obvious positive impacts in GDP, this is not happening in Nepal. Growth in the manufacturing sectors is still quite far away.

The paper by Dr. Kishore Kumar Gurugharana, on "State-led Development Strategy in Nepal" is the most confusing of all. He argues that democracy is not an essential ingredient for development. So, he writes "... democracy is not essential for development, nor does it guarantee good governance and development" (p. 30). This clearly suggests that he holds anti-liberal and anti-democratic views with respect to development strategies that are in direct contradiction with the ideas of Dr. Shankar Sharma. What causes him to argue this way is not clear at all from the paper. Examples from western societies amply suggest that democratic systems work better to deliver better goods and services to the people. Democratic systems at least begin the task of providing an equal opportunity for all provided a person is competitive within the system. In

the case of Nepal, of course, how much a person (or people in general here) can compete on that kind of social, economic and political platform is a big question.

Although in Nepal, where social networks still play key roles for economic development, democracy has failed to produce desirable results for economic growth, this cannot be definitively the fault of democracy per se.

The nature of other three papers is primarily sociological though one of the authors is a diehard economist by profession.

The paper on "Non-Governmental Organization-led Development in Nepal" by Dr. Meena Acharya is interesting for its overall sociological orientation. She gives details for the types and functioning of many NGOs by categorizing them into three distinct groups:

1. National Welfare Oriented NGOs;
2. Professional NGOs; and
3. District and Village based NGOs.

Dr. Acharya argues that people-centred development in Nepal cannot take place through the state intervention nor the open-market economy. Further, she continues, although some Nepal-based NGOs are undoubtedly fulfilling their own objectives, their more significant role may be in fostering people's participation and empowerment. Thus, for Dr. Acharya, these NGOs play key roles in the socioeconomic development of Nepal and its people. Still, I feel that she has somehow missed the basic question about the functioning of these NGOs and INGOs in Nepal.

Over the past decade, particularly after the reinstallation of democracy, the number of NGOs and INGOs has like *banamārū* weeds in Nepal. Some estimates run as high as 20,000 NGOs in Nepal (although the exact number is anybody's guess since no single agency keeps a proper record). Many of these new NGOs may even be threatening the proper function of existing indigenous local level institutions (see, for example, the paper by Dr. Bhattachan). Today, in most of the villages of Nepal, very few people readily volunteer their services because cheap money has become available through these new NGOs. The outcome is that it has become difficult at the local level to imagine community-oriented work without monetary incentives. In this connection, it is worth noting that even the Ministry of Finance has no record of the extent of money flows into Nepal in the name of NGOs since bilateral agreements exist only between the NGOs and the donor organizations themselves.

Simple input-output analysis suggests an approach to the questions turning to the relative value of every dime contributed by an agency. And

anybody in Nepal could provide evidence that outputs are generally much lower than agency investments. I am suggesting that money coming in the name of helping the poor in Nepal disappears somewhere else. My own experience in Eastern Nepal gives the case, for example, of a district-level forest officer who was not motivated to do his district work efficiently because his counterpart peon (the lowest administrative staff member) in a forest-based INGO drew a higher salary and fringe benefits than he did. We are faced with the more serious question of what would happen if the donor agencies would suddenly withdraw their aid to help these NGOs in Nepal. That is, are these village-level development programs self-sustaining in the absence of direct NGO contributions?

Dr. Krishna Bahadur Bhattachan's paper on "People/Community based Development Strategy in Nepal" pleads for an "ethnic" based development model in Nepal. Dr. Bhattachan questions the existing people and community based development approach for its failure to trickle down to marginalized ethnic and caste groups. The people on the bottom have been tricked, he suggests—development programs mostly benefit high caste groups because they ignore the still relevant caste and ethnic attributes of people and their communities. Dr. Bhattachan thus strongly advocates the development of indigenous and traditional community based organizations in Nepal. This paper clearly rejects the dominance of NGO strategies for people based community development approaches.

Nevertheless, one of the weaknesses of Bhattachan's paper is that he does not go to the next stage of defining exactly who constitute the marginalized ethnic groups who are the actual victims of high caste Hindu models for economic development. Are these marginalised groups or victims the Thakali, Byanshi, Sherpa, Rai, Limbu, Tamang or such other groups as the Chepang, Raute, Satar, Thami, and others? It is an interesting question why Bhattachan appears to exclude from his list the so-called "untouchables of Nepal" in both the Tarai and Hill groups. After all, these groups are the most deprived in social, economic, and political domains. Does he ignore them because they fall under the larger category of Hindu? Bhattachan's paper raises the important question of whether the proper development strategy should be "uniform/monolithic single development strategy or a series of multiple approaches" (p. 100), but his own attempt at creating categories shows the real difficulty of fairly enumerating the disadvantaged groups.

The first paper on, "Development Practices in Nepal: An Overview" by Professor Chaitanya Mishra, provides a general summary and overarching theoretical umbrella for approaching the notion of development. It suggests causal mechanisms for both sides of the coin of

development and underdevelopment. Professor Mishra, as usual, begins from within the philosophical perspective of Marxist approaches to the topic, in critical engagement with the western view as a whole. In the first part of his paper he focuses on western models and their location within the assumptions of capitalist hegemony. However, in the second part, he advocates the "democratization of development." This may confuse readers since the language of both democratic values and capitalist economic practice are such essential components of the western model that Professor Mishra takes pains to criticize. He himself notes that the serious weaknesses of the Rana and Panchayat regimes were in the very processes of democratization which were essential, but missing, ingredients in the functioning of their governments. Professor Mishra also argues in favour of indigenous notions and practices in development strategies but he provides painfully little empirical material to substantiate these ideas. He writes that "Public has never been a forte of the modernizing elite" (p.7) and that "class and cultural interests" continue to play a dominant role (p. 7). But how to avoid such things in the development processes of Nepal is nowhere convincingly demonstrated in this provocative paper.

In my opinion, the culture of development and development agents in Nepal has changed minimally over the years. We have the same fixed groups of participants scholars, and paper writers who discuss, time and again, the same story of Nepal's development approaches. These same people, in fact, are the very ones who have already benefited most from their position within historical and enduring structures of Nepal's status hierarchy. Just as changes in the political system of Nepal have brought the possibility of new experiment and the hearing of new voices, we require new voices and thinking in our approaches to development questions. Although there is no shortage of beautiful plans for developing this poor country, we seem unable to face the simple fact that things are not working in spite of a new democratic situation demanding radical breakaway from old habits of thought and behaviour.

Some less outstanding weakness of this volume includes the terribly confusing use of abbreviations in the text. Like DAC, IRDP, ILO, R and D, and so on without once giving their full form. In addition, the relative lengths of paper are not uniform. Some papers such as Badri's, contain only eight pages whereas others, such as Bhattachan's run to 48 pages or fully 32% of the total text. Indeed, Acharya and Bhattachan alone occupy over 53% of the total space in text. It seems to me that fairness to the varying points of view argues for a more uniform quota for each author.

Finally, to refer to another one of the volume goals, a BA level student will find difficulty in comprehending the concept of development in this volume, if only because the different authors' opinions are so various. And it becomes all the more confusing since no strategy—be it state-led, market-led, or NGO-led—has really definitively helped to enhance the socio-economic status of Nepali people up to now. This clearly suggests the complexity of development as a concept and the need that it be understood in terms of multiple contexts and meanings. Undoubtedly, this volume will continue to generate debates among academicians. One awaits the further trickling down of their ideas on development issues in Nepal.

- Dilli Ram Dahal

BOOK REVIEW

Districts of Nepal: Indicators of Development. 1997. Mahesh Banskota, Pitamber Sharma, S. Zahir Sadeque and others. Kathmandu: International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development. vii+ 119, Maps. Price: NRs. 550.

Availability and accessibility of quality data on Nepal is a problem, but equally an important issue is lack of use of what is available at the various institutions engaged in development activities in the country. One early attempt is *Atlas of Economic Development in Nepal* (Shrestha and Sharma 1980). It presents series of maps related to physical and socio-economic conditions of the country along with interpretations of respective maps. It contains valuable information but for some reasons its use could not be as wide as it is expected. Later, some attempts to bring various district level indicators of development together in a simple framework resulted in the publication of *Population Monograph of Nepal*. Since it mainly focuses on population and environment, it includes indices such as CIP (Crude index of population) and CIPQuE (Crude Index of Physical quality of Environment) and assesses the status of districts in the context of sustainable development (Subedi, 1995). Central Department of Geography prepared a report for National Planning Commission identifying critical regions and districts using some indicators of development (Manandhar et al., 1994). Both of these have limited purpose and circulation. However, the quantity and quality of data related to development remains a major problem in the country. *Districts of Nepal: Indicators of Development* published by ICIMOD (1991) is the latest publication in this regard. It fills an important information gap — a good, well chosen collection that could serve as a handy reference to all those interested about Nepal in general and those trying to appraise the development situation of the districts in particular.

This volume assesses the development status of each of Nepal's 75 districts using 39 indicators which are grouped into four major categories, namely socio-economic, institutional and infrastructure development; poverty and deprivation; natural resources endowment and management; and women's empowerment. The book has two sections. The first section

specifies various indicators used to assess the development status and their data sources. It also discusses methods of data transformation. The second section is entirely devoted to thematic maps (coloured) including tables relevant to each map. With an exclusion of the reference map (Map 1), there are a total of 49 thematic maps: of which 39 are single indicator maps and 10 composite index maps. For simplicity, districts are categorised as best, intermediate and worst for each indicator and index: with top 25 belonging to the best, the bottom 25 as worst and the remaining intermediated. The composite maps are placed in the beginning (Map 2-Map 6) and at the end (Map 46-Map 50) whereas the single indicator maps are placed in the middle (Map 7-Map 45). Of the five composite index maps in the beginning, the first (Map 2) is the overall summary of development situation of the districts. This summarizes each of 75 districts' development situation based on 39 indicators which were first reduced to 23 indicators, then to four dimensions (socio-economic, women's empowerment, poverty and natural resource management) and finally to overall composite index of development.

This book is very informative. For the first time district-level information from diverse sources has been brought together and presented into sets of neat maps which are not only informative but also impressive. The primary outputs, i.e. series of maps speak of themselves. The authors have rightly chosen the path of not wasting time by attaching lengthy description of maps. The quality of paper is good and the cover page which portrays rural life-style in Nepal nicely fits the theme and gives added flavour. However, some minor inconsistencies are apparent. One of them is the confusion created by the assumptions implicit in the categorization of districts according to values of two indicators, namely percentage of cultivated area and ratio of non-cultivated area to cultivated area. Table of Map 43 showing percentage of cultivated area assumes that higher percentage of cultivated area in the district is indicative of better situation whereas Table of Map 44 showing ratio of non-cultivated area to cultivated area assumes the opposite. When both these indicators are used to produce composite index of natural resources endowment on equal footing, the index value may not represent a situation it ought to reflect. Likewise, putting "gross rural population density" in natural resources group is rather odd at least to this reader.

Some suggestions could be made for the second edition. The unit of measurement could be added to Table of Map 45 showing gross rural population density (person/hectare?). Wherever applicable, inclusion of national average figures in single indicator Tables would greatly help readers compare the district situation with the national average. The reference map

(i.e., Map 1: Administrative Boundaries) could have chosen colours other than the ones used in the subsequent maps or else patterns rather than colours could have been used to show three ecological zones. This map is not meant for quality assessment and the use of same colours as in the following maps may unknowingly provide wrong impression. Similarly, since single indicator maps are arranged according to four themes, a spare page with main theme centred, before sets of maps with a theme begin could provide a better guide to the readers. If this is the case, there will be a page before Map 7 which reads something like "Poverty and Deprivation" and so forth for three other themes. This might be done before presentation of sets of composite maps as well. Furthermore, the presentation (ordering) of values in Tables of single indicator maps (Tables 7-45) and the presentation of index in the maps may be arranged in the same order. For example, these Tables present data on descending order (from best to worst) whereas indexes of the map present in the ascending order (from worst to best).

There are some maps that raises a **question of data quality**. The percentage of population with an access to safe drinking water coverage is surprisingly high (Table of Map 18, p. 54). If this is real, many districts have made appreciable progress in this respect (e.g., Mahottari district with almost total coverage). But if this data assumes any kind of water available for safe drinking which appears to be likely, there is a problem. With this data and in the extreme, one may also argue that since each person manages to have an access to drinking water and thus drinking water coverage is hundred percent. One must agree that the categorization of 75 districts into 3 groups with equal number in each group is less debatable. The authors have wisely provided individual values in the Tables so that for those who find this categorization too simplistic may use their own grouping to fit their purpose. There is one exception in which this three-fold grouping appears rather uncomfortable because it puts a very wide range of values in one category; i.e., road density where districts whose "weighted sum of different categories of road in km as a percent of 100 sq km of total surface area" was 98.78% and those with 7.1 percent in one category as best. But the good point about this is that no other indicators demonstrate the distinct inter-district inequality in development as this one does showing 20 of the 75 districts as deprived of road access.

Overall, the book has been successful in accomplishing its objective of depicting relative levels of development among each of 75 districts of Nepal. The authors deserve commendation not only for their attempt to bring together various information scattered in the different institutions and presenting them into colourful maps but also for the methodological details of how data from various sources and of various nature are combined together

into scores which are free from unit of measurement which preserving orders as of indicator value. For those interested in the data and illustrations, i.e. final products, maps and associated tables prove valuable. For those interested in the process, there is an excellent discussion of methodology which can be used in further studies. This inclusion of methodology, which most publications ignore, is very important and has further reinforced the book's academic significance. This publication can also be considered a bold endeavour as this not only attracts commendation but also there is room for a lot of criticism. This is because among the chosen indicators while some suffer from data quality, while others suffer from definition problem. Of course, this publication is not an exhaustive collection of all the indicators of development at the district level. It has successfully brought useful data together which otherwise would have remained in a fragmented form. This book is highly recommended not only for those interested in understanding the development status of districts in Nepal, particularly, HMG, development institutions and organizations involved in decentralized development planning but also for research scholars in and about Nepal, students and others with even little interest in Nepal.

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– Bhim P. Subedi